Structural Dividers in the Qur'an

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6 A Preliminary Catalogue of Qur'anic Saj 'Techniques

Beat Patterning, Parallelism, and Rhyme

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6 A Preliminary Catalogue of Qur'anic Saj' Techniques

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Introduction

This essay proposes a preliminary methodology for the division of Qur'anic passages into discrete clusters of saj 'ahs. The basic rules that govern Qur'anic saj ' have already been carefully elucidated by Devin Stewart in a series of articles on this subject. Stewart has also provided some exploratory illustrations of where individual saj 'ahs might combine to form consecutive strings of saj 'units.² Yet the medieval rhetorician Diya al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239), in his al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa-l-shā'ir ("The Current Model for the Literary Discipline of the Scribe and Poet"),³ declares that it is only the occasional need for "brevity" $(\bar{\imath}j\bar{a}z)$ and "concision" $(ikhtis\bar{a}r)$ that precluded the Qur'an from having been written entirely in saj '.4 It is evident from his declaration that "the majority of the Qur'an is saj "' (inna akthar al-qur'ān masjū') that such oft-cited examples of Qur'anic saj' as Q 100:1-3 (wa-l-'ādiyāti dabhā * fa-l-mūriyāti qadhā * fa-l-mughīrāti subhā) were for Ibn al-Athīr the exception, when it comes to Qur'anic saj', and not the rule. This suggests that, at some point, many more of the Qur'an's rhetorical features must have been seen as having being informed by the rules and the rhythms of sai' than the current understanding of Qur'anic saj 'in the Western Academy might lead one to imagine.

Ibn al-Athīr provides a number of textual examples in illustration of the types of saj 'present in the Qur'an. He does not, however, define the minutiae of saj 'compositional techniques per se. Nor does he explain how these might serve to demarcate the limits of structural units or how they might be juxtaposed or interwoven in order to form complex passages that can more loosely be described as $masj\bar{u}$ '. As such, his statement that it is only the occasional need for brevity and concision that precluded the Qur'an from having been written entirely in saj 'does not immediately ring true.

That short passages of saj do combine into wider $masj\bar{u}$ units is evident from one of the examples of non-Qur'anic saj provided by Ibn al-Ath \bar{l} r:

wa-qad 'alimta anna l-dawlata l-'abbāsiyyata lam tazal 'alā sālifi l-ayyām wa-muta 'āqibi l-a 'wām ta 'tallu tawran wa-tasihhu atwāran wa-taltāthu

marratan wa-tastaqillu mirāran min ḥaythu aşluhā rāsikhun lā yataza za u wa-bunyānuhā thābitun lā yataḍa da u

As you well know, the Abbasid state, over the passage of days and the course of years, has sometimes fallen sick, but many times been restored to health, is occasionally tardy, but frequently independent. [This is all] on account of the fact that its foundation is stable, never shaking, and its edifice firm, never teetering.

This passage clearly consists of three separate saj units. It opens with an initial sentence of matched accentual beats ($s\bar{a}lifi\ l$ - $ayy\bar{a}m$ and wa-muta $\bar{a}qibi\ l$ -a $w\bar{a}m$ both comprising precisely two Arabic words, as can be seen in Table 6.1) emerging from a lengthy introductory phrase that is counted as superfluous to the matched beats of the saj unit itself. This initial sentence displays an extended rhyme in $-C\bar{a}CvCi\ l$ - $aCC\bar{a}m$ (where C represents "any consonant" and v "any short vowel"). Unit II, which follows, then consists in its entirety of two parallel phrases, of four accentual beats each, rhyming in $-C\bar{a}r\bar{a}$. The final sentence is, like the first, dependent upon an introductory phrase (here: $min\ haythu$), out of which emerges a second two-part saj unit of four accentual beats, this time rhyming in $C\bar{a}CiCun\ l\bar{a}\ yataCa\ Ca$. The whole passage can thus be laid out as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Ibn al-Athīr's example of non-Qur'anic saj' broken into three subunits

I	(8) 2 2	(wa-qad / ʿalimtu / anna / l-dawlata / l- ʿabbāsiyyata / lam / tazal / ʿalā /) sālifi / l-ayyām // wa-muta ʿāqibi / l-a ʿwām //
II	4 4	taʿtallu / ṭawran / wa-taṣiḥḥu / aṭwārā // wa-taltāthu / marratan / wa-tastaqillu / mirārā //
III	(2) 4 4	(min / ḥaythu /) aşluhā / rāsikhun / lā / yataza ʿza ʿ // wa-bunyānuhā / thābitun / lā / yataḍa ʿḍa ʿ //

Similar patterns have been observed in the Qur'an, wherein contrasting rhythms, rhyme patterns, or the presence of introductory phrases can demarcate clear divisions between consecutive sections of text. In his 1990 article on Qur'anic saj, Devin Stewart provides the example of Sūrat al-'Ādiyāt (Q 100), which he describes as comprising four saj units (see Table 6.2). The first saj unit (vv. 1–3) consists of verses with two accentual beats each, both rhyming in $CvCh\bar{a}$. The second saj unit (vv. 4–5) has three accentual beats per verse, and rhymes in $CvC\bar{i}$. The third saj unit (vv. 6–8) comprises three four-beat verses, all rhyming in $CvC\bar{i}$. The fourth and final saj unit (vv. 9–11) contains saj ahs with first three and then five accentual beats, rhymes in $CvC\bar{i}$. and is marked as distinct from the preceding by the presence of an introductory phrase: a-fa- $l\bar{a}$ ya lamu $idh\bar{a}$... ("Does he not know that, when ..."). 10

2 1 wa-l- 'ādivāti / dabhā // 2 ² fa-l-mūriyāti / qadḥā // ³ fa-l-mughīrāti / ṣubḥā // П 3 ⁴ fa-atharna / bihi / nag 'ā // ⁵ fa-wasaṭṇa / bihi / jam ʿā // 3 6 inna / l-insāna / li-rabbihi / la-kanūd // Ш 4 4 ⁷ wa-innahu / 'alā / dhālika / la-shahīd // 8 wa-innahu / li-ḥubbi / l-khayri / la-shadīd // 4 IV (3)9 (a-fa-lā / va 'lamu / idhā /) buʿthira / mā / fi l-qubūr // 3 3 10 wa-hussila / mā / fi l-sudūr // 5 11 inna / rabbahum / bihim / yawma 'idhin / la-khabīr //

Table 6.2 Devin Stewart's division of Sūrat al-ʿĀdiyāt (Q 100) into four subunits

Contrary to initial impressions, however, while the sense of v. 11 ("On that day, their Lord will be fully aware of them") clearly follows on from the two verses that precede it ("Does he not know that, when the contents of graves burst forth and the secrets of hearts are uncovered"), it does not emerge cleanly from the introductory phrase at the beginning of this *saj* unit. If the two preceding cola were removed, the resultant phrase, "Does he not know that, when ... On that day, their Lord will be fully aware of them," is ungrammatical in a way that "Does he not know that, when the contents of graves burst forth" and "Does he not know that, when ... the secrets of hearts are uncovered" are not. Its five accentual beats consequently mark it as an independent *saj* ah. This is concretely linked to the preceding *saj* ahs in sense (just as that which is sworn in vv. 6–8, *saj* unit III, is linked to that which is sworn by in vv. 1–5, *saj* units I and II), but it is nonetheless morphologically and rhythmically separate from it. Indeed, morphologically, it hearkens back to *saj* unit III, following the pattern *inna* ... *la*-CvCū/īC.

As will become apparent below, the Qur'an displays a number of such structures, in which final statements protrude—rhythmically, stylistically, or in terms of their end-rhyme—from their immediate surroundings, such that they could be considered to be separate, one-line *saj* 'units. The Qur'an also, however, exhibits a variety of more complex arrangements, in which *saj* 'units appear to be embedded within other *saj* 'units, and in which parts of verses operate outside of the dominant rhymes and rhythms and create a more intricate sense of phonetic cohesion and rhythmical texture. While obviously informed by the conventions of *saj* ', these complex quasi-*saj* 'structures remain to be categorized and defined.

In what follows, I shall extend the logic suggested by Ibn al-Athīr's passage of non-Qur'anic *saj* 'into the general areas of the Qur'an he highlights as *masjū* '. First, in Part One, brief attention will be paid to the passages Ibn al-Athīr adduces as Qur'anic examples of specific types of *saj* '. Although there are complications here, the logic for Ibn al-Athīr's selection of these passages is often self-evident. The situation becomes significantly more intriguing, however,

when close attention is paid to some of the Qur'anic verses supplied almost fleetingly by Ibn al-Athīr in order to demonstrate the prevalence of sai' throughout the Qur'an. The rationale behind the citation of some of these particular Qur'anic passages as $masj\bar{u}$, and Ibn al-Athīr's demarcation of these specific units as discrete examples of saj', is often less transparent. Part Two, therefore, will focus on the Qur'anic verses to which Ibn al-Athīr alludes in illustration of the pervasiveness of the phenomenon of saj 'throughout the Qur'an, 12 and on their wider thematic or structural units. These detailed case studies will seek to divide sections of the text into discrete sai' units on the basis of rhyme, rhythm, thematic considerations, and lexical and grammatical parallelism, with particular attention being paid to the traditionally saj '-informed parallelism that is created by rhyme and rhythm. As a result of these endeavors, an expanded catalogue of fifteen saj'-informed Qur'anic structuring techniques will be suggested (Part Three). This list is intended to serve as a basis for further research into how saj '-patterns, as Ibn al-Athīr seems to have understood them, are modified and manipulated in order to structure, embellish, and unify the Qur'an.

Part One. Examples Provided by Ibn al-Athīr Demonstrating the Presence of Four Main Types of *Saj* 'in the Qur'an

1 Both Parts of the Saj' Unit being Equal

Ibn al-Athīr provides two Qur'anic examples in illustration of "equal" saj': Q 100:1–5 and Q 93:9–10.

i Q 93:9-10 as an Example of Equal Saj'

The parallelism of the Q 93:9–10 unit is evident: there is an extended rhyme in fa- $l\bar{a}$ taChar; the accentual beats match at 4–4; the grammatical construct wa- $amm\bar{a}$... fa- $l\bar{a}$ is reproduced in both verses. The entirety of Sūrat al-Duḥā (Q 93), however, appears to be informed by saj 'patterns in some shape or form, and its potential for division into a simple string of consecutive saj 'units is relatively transparent. As is apparent in Table 6.3, vv. 1–2 would also seem to form a discrete unit, an oath introduction consisting of two items (al- $duh\bar{a}$ and al-layl). Verses 3–5 then form a further unit of 5–5–4 accentual beats, with some sequential repetition in v. 3 ($m\bar{a}$... wa- $m\bar{a}$) and some internal parallelism (the repeated wa-la openers of vv. 4 and 5). The following unit, vv. 6–8, exhibits grammatical parallelism in its matched fa- ... closers, is dependent upon an introductory a-lam which serves to negate all three of the following statements, and counts in at 3–3–3 accentual beats.

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<sup>6</sup> (a-lam /)
yajidka / yatīman / fa-āwā //
<sup>7</sup> wa-wajadaka / ḍāllan / fa-hadā //
<sup>8</sup> wa-wajadaka / ʿāʾilan / fa-aghnā //
```

⁶ (Did He not)

Find you an orphan and shelter you.

- ⁷ Find you lost and guide you,
- ⁸ Find you in need and enrich you?

Next comes Ibn al-Athīr's designated unit of vv. 9-10: two grammatically parallel statements (wa-ammā ... fa-lā ...) of a precisely matched 4-4 accentual beats. The final verse of the surah, despite its matching the preceding saj 'unit in its opening and its accentual beats, might possibly be considered as constituting an independent, single-verse saj'ah on account of its departure from the very close parallelism of vv. 9–10.

The further example of Q 100 below, however, inclines me to read the indicators of textual cohesion here as overriding the indicators of structural apartness.

Table 6.3 Sūrat al-Duhā (Q 93) broken into five subunits

Ι	1 3	¹ wa-l-ḍuḥā // ² wa-l-layli / idhā / sajā //
II	5 5 4	³ mā / wadda ʿaka / rabbuka / wa-mā / qalā // ⁴ wa-la-l-ākhiratu / khayrun / laka / mina / l-ūlā // ⁵ wa-la-sawfa / yu ʿṭīka / rabbuka / fa-tarḍā //
III	(1) 3 3 3	⁶ (a-lam /) yajidka / yatīman / fa-āwā // ⁷ wa-wajadaka / ḍāllan / fa-hadā // ⁸ wa-wajadaka / ʿāʾilan / fa-aghnā //
IV	4	⁹ fa-ammā / l-yatīma / fa-lā / taqhar // ¹⁰ wa-ammā / l-sā ʾila / fa-lā / tanhar //
	4	¹¹ wa-ammā / bi-ni ʿmati / rabbika / fa-ḥaddith //

ii Q 100:1-5 as an Example of Equal Saj'

Ibn al-Athīr's second example of balanced sai' initially seems just as straightforward. As was discussed above, the opening five verses of Sūrat al-'Ādiyāt (Q 100) consist of two saj units of first two then three accentual beats. 13 These display two contrasting matched grammatical parallelisms, with a pervading rhyme in $CvCC\bar{a}$ that is extended to $-\bar{a}ti$ $CvCh\bar{a}$ in the first saj unit, and to bihi $\text{CvCC}\bar{a}$ in the second saj unit (see Table 6.4). It can immediately, moreover, be observed that Sūrat al-'Ādiyāt continues with further saj 'units. Verses 6–8 comprise a matched unit of four accentual beats rhyming in la-CvC $\bar{u}/\bar{t}d$ and possessing parallelism in its consistent *inna* ... *la* construct. Verses 9–11 similarly form a discrete unit, depending this time on an introductory phrase, a-fa-lā ya lamu $idh\bar{a}$... ("Does he not know that, when ..."): the saj 'unit per se consists of two three-beat verses rhyming in CuCCiCa mā fi l-CuCūr, and the first of these is prefaced by a three-beat clause which acts on both parts of the subsequently unfolding saj unit. The final verse of the surah is connected to the preceding saj unit in sense, but contains an extra accentual beat, making it the only verse in the surah to contain five accentual beats. The grammatical structure of Q 100:11, however, connects not with the preceding material, as we saw in Sūrat al-Duḥā, but with vv. 6–8. It seems more likely, therefore, that vv. 9–10 of Sūrat al-ʿĀdiyāt were heard as a rhythmical insertion into a saj unit running Q 100:6–8.11, that the recurrence of the grammatical pattern inna ... la-CaCv̄C would aurally override the small disparity in accentual beats (from four to five), interrupted as this disparity is by a short saj unit of 3–3–3 accentual beats.

Table 6.4 Breaking Sūrat al-ʿĀdiyāt (Q 100) into four subunits

I	2 2 2	¹ wa-l-ʿādiyāti / ḍabḥā // ² fa-l-mūriyāti / qadḥā // ³ fa-l-mughīrāti / ṣubḥā //
II	3	⁴ fa-atharna / bihi / naq ʿā // ⁵ fa-wasaṭna / bihi / jam ʿā //
III	4 4 4	⁶ inna / l-insāna / li-rabbihi / la-kanūd // ⁷ wa-innahu / ʿalā / dhālika / la-shahīd // ⁸ wa-innahu / li-ḥubbi / l-khayri / la-shadīd //
IV	(3) 3 3	⁹ (a-fa-lā / ya lamu / idhā /) bu thira / mā / fi l-qubūr // ¹⁰ wa-ḥuṣṣila / mā / fi l-ṣudūr //
III	5	¹¹ inna / rabbahum / bihim / yawma'idhin / la-khabīr //

The presence of this final verse within the structure of Sūrat al-ʿĀdiyāt (Q 100) complicates any understanding of Qur'anic saj as reliably consisting of rhymed and rhythmic *consecutive* units. What would appear to be in evidence here is a more complex saj structuring device, in which brief saj sentences can be embedded within a surrounding rhythmic or grammatical structure. Further such examples of embedment will occur below.

2 The Second Part of the Saj' Unit being Longer than the First

Ibn al-Athīr supplies three Qur'anic examples in illustration of the category "unbalanced" *saj* ', one from Sūrat al-Furqān (Q 25:11–13), one from Sūrat Maryam (Q 19:88–90), and one from Sūrat al-Wāqi 'ah (Q 56:27–30).

i Q 25:11-13 as an Example of "Unbalanced" Saj'

The slight disparity of accentual beats (8-9-9) of Q 25:11–13 Ibn al-Athīr highlights as an example of incomplete i ' $tid\bar{a}l$ ("balance"), pointing out nonetheless the relative closeness of the numbers here. Yet the following verse is also of interest, echoing as it does the $thub\bar{u}r\bar{a}$ and the da 'aw of the preceding verse,

while replicating the accentual beat patterning of the "anomalous" eight-beat v. 11.

- ¹¹ bal / kadhdhabū / bi-l-sāʿati / wa-aʿtadnā / li-man / kadhdhaba / bi-lsā 'ati / sa 'īrā //
- ¹² idhā / ra'athum / min / makānin / ba'īdin / sami'ū / lahā / taghayyuzan / wa-zafīrā //
- ¹³ wa-idhā / ulqū / minhā / makānan / dayyigan / mugarranīna / da'aw / hunālika / thubūrā //
- ¹⁴ lā / tad ʿū / l-yawma / thubūran / wāhidan / wa-d ʿū / thubūran / kathīrā //
- ¹¹ But they deny [the truth of] the Hour. We have prepared a blazing Fire for those that deny [the truth of] the Hour.
- ¹² When it sees them from a distance, they will hear it raging and roaring.
- ¹³ When they are hurled into a narrow part of it, chained together, they will cry out for death.
- 14 "Do not cry out this day for one death! Cry out for many deaths!"

Verse 14 of Sūrat al-Furqān is moreover followed by a long verse introducing a fresh question to be posed to the unbelievers (v. 15), which is clearly separate from the preceding structural unit.

- ¹⁵ qul / a-dhālika / khayrun / am / jannatu / l-khuldi / llatī / wuʻida / l-muttaqūna / kānat / lahum / jazā 'an / wa-maṣīrā //
- ¹⁵ Which is better, this or the lasting Garden that has been promised to those who fear [God]? [There] they [will] have their reward and their journey's end.

This begs the question of why Ibn al-Athīr classified the saj unit as vv. 11–13, and not either the larger thematically chained unit comprising vv. 11-14, or the smaller, rhythmically (9-9) and grammatically (idhā ... idhā ...) chained unit comprising vv. 12–13.

It is similarly worth noting that both v. 11 and v. 14 display internal repetition. Verse 11 varies its initial kadhdhabū bi-l-sā ati with a subsequent kadhdhaba bi-l-sā 'ati; v. 14 its initial thubūran wāḥidan with a subsequent thubūran kathīran. The structuring in these four verses is not straightforwardly linear, and what we would appear to have is a cohesive four-verse saj unit bound by rhyme and rhythm which contains in its midst a two-verse saj' unit further bound by grammatical parallelism. The connection between vv. 13 and 14 is, however, strengthened by lexical repetition: da'aw hunālika thubūrā becomes lā tad'ū l-vawma thubūran wāhidan wa-d'ū thubūran kathīrā. This ABBC construct, in which the central terms of the saj unit display grammatical parallelism, and the final sentence is an extension of the grammatically parallel unit, is one for which I have coined the term "stepped saj'." It differs from embedded saj' in the directionality of the unit as a whole: while the earlier example of Q 100:11 is similarly dependent on its preceding verses in sense, it is structurally retrospective in its return to the inna ... la-... pattern of Q 100:6–8. The differences between stepped saj' and embedded saj' are however subtle, and Qur'anic examples require careful assessment on a case-by-case basis. The same will be seen to be true with regard to discerning the boundaries between linear saj' and grammatically parallel saj'.

Moving on within Sūrat al-Furgān, the following text unit is similarly complex in structure. The close of v. 16 is linked to the middle of v. 15 via the recurrence of the w-'-d root: jannatu l-khuldi llatī wu'ida l-muttaqūna returns as kāna 'alā rabbika wa 'dan mas 'ūlā. The three final cola, moreover, can be read as being dependent upon an introductory phrase: qul a-dhālika khayrun am jannatu l-khuldi llatī wu ida l-muttagūna. The three statements, "Say, 'Which is better, this or the lasting Garden that has been promised to those who fear [God]? [There] they will have their reward and their journey's end," "Say, 'Which is better, this or the lasting Garden that has been promised to those who fear [God] ... There they will find everything they wish for and there they will stay," and "Say, 'Which is better, this or the lasting Garden that has been promised to those who fear [God] ... This is a binding promise from your Lord," all cohere both grammatically and thematically. There would seem to be an argument, therefore, for introducing a sai'ah break in the middle of v. 15, and again in the middle of v. 16, such that the three final cola, all of which could attach independently to the preceding introductory phrase, display near-matched accentual beats of 4-5-5.

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15 (qul / a-dhālika / khayrun / am / jannatu / l-khuldi / llatī / wu ida / l-muttaqūna /)
kānat / lahum / jazā an / wa-maṣīrā //
16 lahum / fīhā / mā / yashā ūna / khālidīna /
kāna / alā / rabbika / wa dan / mas ūlā //
```

¹⁵ (Which is better, this or the lasting Garden that has been promised to those who fear [God]?)

[There] they will have their reward and their journey's end.

16 There they will find everything they wish for and there they will stay.

This is a binding promise from your Lord.

The breaking of single verses into multiple *saj* 'units is already acknowledged in the Western Academy. Devin Stewart, again, raised this in his 1990 article on *saj* 'in the Qur'an, citing the examples of Q 69:30–31 (*khudhūhu fa-ghullūh* * *thumma l-jahīma ṣallūh*) and Q 112:3–4 (*lam yalid wa-lam yūlad* * *wa-lam yakun lahu kufuwan aḥad*), both of which, Stewart argues, comprise three-*saj* 'ah units, rotating around the internal rhyme created by *khudhūhu* and *ghullūhu*, on the one hand, and *yalid* and *yūlad*, on the other.¹⁴ Two things should immediately be noted about

this proposition. One is the slight imprecision of the rhyme between *yalid*, *yūlad*, and *aḥad*, an imprecision that is not of course unprecedented in the Qur'an.¹⁵ The other is the implication this has for the observation of pausal forms in *saj*. If Q 69:30–31 is read in line with the accepted principles of Qur'an recitation (*tajwīd*), this *saj* unit does not rhyme. In order for rhyme to be maintained, Q 69:30–31 must either be read as *khudhūhu fa-ghullūhu thumma l-jaḥīma ṣallūhu*, ignoring pausal form, or as *khudhūh fa-ghullūh thumma l-jaḥīma ṣallūh*, such that pausal form is upheld mid-verse. Returning to the example of Sūrat al-Furqān, if Q 25:15–16 were to be divided such that the final three cola constituted separate *saj ah*s and end-rhyme were to be maintained, this would require the *faṭḥah* at the end of the mid-verse *khālidīna* to be lengthened, and read *khālidīnā*. A precedent for this is set by the rhyme word at the end of v. 17, *sabīla*, which logic dictates must have been read *sabīlā*.¹⁶

The rhythmical division of vv. 15–16 into three saj 'ahs of near-matched accentual beats, emerging from an introductory phrase, "Say, 'Which is better, this or the lasting Garden that has been promised to those who fear [God] ...,'" would therefore appear to be uncomplicated by any disturbances in the end-rhyme. While the closeness of the rhyme between $mas\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}$ and mas ' $\bar{u}l\bar{a}$ is not maintained (there is a strong case for the argument that Qur'anic r rhymes with Qur'anic l, just as $\bar{\imath}$ rhymes with \bar{u}), the degree of correspondence between the hypothetical saj 'ah-final terms $mas\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}$, $kh\bar{a}lid\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}$,

Table 6.5 Breaking Q 25:11–19 into three subunits

8	¹¹ bal / kadhdhabū / bi-l-sāʿati / wa-aʿtadnā / li-man / kadhdhaba / bi-l- sāʿati / saʿīrā //
9	12 idhā / raʾathum / min / makānin / baʿīdin / samiʿū / lahā / taghayyuzan / wa-zafīrā // 13 wa-idhā / ulqū / minhā / makānan / ḍayyiqan / muqarranīna / daʿaw / hunālika / thubūrā //
8	¹⁴ lā tadʿū / l-yawma / thubūran / wāḥidan / wa-dʿū / thubūran / kathīrā //
(9) 4 5 5	¹⁵ (qul / a-dhālika / khayrun / am / jannatu / l-khuldi / llatī / wu ʻida / l-muttaqūna /) kānat / lahum / jazā ʾan / wa-maṣīrā // ¹⁶ lahum / fīhā / mā / yashā ʾūna / khālidīnā / kāna / ʿalā / rabbika / wa ʿdan / mas ʾūlā //
16 16 15	17 wa-yawma / yaḥshuruhum / wa-mā / ya 'budūna / min / dūni / llāhi / fa-yaqūlu / a-antum / aḍlaltum / 'ibādī / hā 'ulā 'i / am / hum / ḍallū / l-sabīlā // 18 qālū / subḥānaka / mā / kāna / yanbaghī / lanā / an / nattakhidha / min / dūnika / min / awliyā 'a / wa-lākin / matta 'tahum / wa-ābā 'ahum / ḥattā / nasū / l-dhikra / wa-kānū / qawman / būrā // 19 fa-qad / kadhdhabūkum / bi-mā / taqūlūna / fa-mā / tastaṭī 'ūna / ṣarfan / wa-lā / naṣran / wa-man / yazlim / minkum / nudhiqhu / 'adhāban / kabīrā //
	9 9 9 8 (9) 4 5 5 16

and mas 'ūlā is still sufficient to classify as Qur'anic rhyme. The proposed sai' unit O 25:15-16 is, moreover, bound with a closely set terminological inclusio, a device for which I have coined the term "circular band": the repetition of the w-'-d root in the middle of v. 15 and at the end of v. 16 adds an element of structural cohesion to this saj unit that is circular rather than parallel. Unlike the repeated idhā ... idhā ... in vv. 12 and 13, there is no suggestion that the repeated wu'ida ... wa'd might reside in structural parallel. While the example of Q 100 cited above makes it clear that saj units are not thematic units—that a muasam bihi ("that which is sworn by") can, for example, reside in a different saj' unit to a mugsam 'alayhi ("that which is sworn") and, I would posit, an idhā ("when") construction can be structurally and rhythmically distinct from its apodosis—further examples of circular bands will occur below, and it will be seen that such structuring techniques can be used specifically in order to further embellish Qur'anic saj 'units. Verses 17–19 of Sūrat al-Furgan, meanwhile, are nearly matched in their accentual beats, counting in at 16–16–15 respectively; an apparent example of what Ibn al-Athīr would term long saj '.

ii Q 19:88-90 as an Example of "Unbalanced" Saj'

Ibn al-Athīr's next cited example of ""unbalanced" Qur'anic *saj* 'is taken from Sūrat Maryam (Q 19:88–90). It is indeed possible to read vv. 88–89 as a single *saj* 'ah which, together with v. 90, form a two-*saj* 'ah unit of 8–9 accentual beats:¹⁷

This fulfills Ibn al-Athīr's criteria for the "unbalanced" *saj* in illustration of which he cites this passage: vv. 88–89, when laid out as a couplet in this way, present a near-matched rhythmical unit, in which the second *saj* ah of the unit (v. 90) is one beat longer than the first (vv. 88–89). That adjacent verses can be combined into a single unit in order to match a surrounding rhythm is explicitly acknowledged by Ibn al-Athīr. 18

The two verses that follow this pericope are, however, indisputably connected to Ibn al-Athīr's cited *saj* 'unit.¹⁹ It is not unfeasible that these verses, too, could be combined into a single *saj* 'ah, producing the following three-*saj* 'ah rhythmical unit of 8–9–10 accentual beats:

 $^{^{88}}$ wa-qālū / ttakhadha / l-raḥmānu / waladan // 89 la-qad / ji 'tum / shay 'an / iddā //

⁹⁰ takādu / l-samāwātu / yatafaṭṭarna / minhu / wa-tanshaqqu / l-arḍu / wa-takhirru / l-jibālu / haddā //

⁸⁸ They say, "The Lord of Mercy has a child." ⁸⁹ How terrible is this thing you assert!

⁹⁰ It almost causes the heavens to be torn apart, the earth to split asunder, the mountains to crumble to pieces ...

- 88 wa-qālū / ttakhadha / l-rahmānu / waladan // 89 la-qad / ji 'tum / shay 'an /
- 90 takādu / l-samāwātu / yatafattarna / minhu / wa-tanshaqqu / l-ardu / watakhirru / l-jibālu / haddā //
- 91 an / da 'aw / li-l-raḥmāni / waladan // 92 wa-mā / yanbighī / li-l-raḥmāni / an / yattakhidha / waladā //
- 88 They say, "The Lord of Mercy has a child." 89 How terrible is this thing vou assert!
- ⁹⁰ It almost causes the heavens to be torn apart, the earth to split asunder, the mountains to crumble to pieces,
- 91 That they attribute a child to the Lord of Mercy. 92 It does not befit the Lord of Mercy to have a child.

Moreover, the following textual unit within Sūrat Maryam would then appear to be a five-verse saj 'unit (vv. 93–97) whose second and third verses can be combined in order to create a four-saj'ah unit of near-matched accentual beats (9–9–9–10; see Table 6.6). Although there would be no great rhythmic disparity between the saj units Q 19:88–92 and Q 19:93–97, it is nonetheless tempting to describe vv. 88–92 as a saj unit enclosed by a circular band (al-rahmān + waladā at vv. 88, 91, and 92), and vv. 93-97 as a saj' unit with a slightly extended rhyme in $CvCC\bar{a}$ and a degree of further correspondence provided by the echo between al-rahmāni 'abdā in v. 93 and al-rahmānu wuddā in v. 96. The fourteen accentual beats of the surah-final v. 98, meanwhile, like the final verse of O 93 discussed above, seem to constitute an independent saj 'unit within the surah, rhythmically disconnected from the material that immediately precedes it. The argument for the division of the final verses of Sūrat Maryam into

Table 6.6 Proposing an initial segmentation of Q 19:88–98 into three subunits

Ι	8 9 10	88 wa-qālū / ttakhadha / l-raḥmānu / waladan // 89 la-qad / ji 'tum / shay 'an / iddā /l 90 takādu / l-samāwātu / yatafaṭṭarna / minhu / wa-tanshaqqu / l-arḍu / wa-takhirru / l-jibālu / haddā // 91 an / da 'aw / li-l-raḥmāni / waladan / 92 wa-mā / yanbaghī / li-l-raḥmāni / an / yattakhidha / waladā //
II	9 9 9 10	93 in / kullu / man / fi l-samāwāti / wa-l-arḍi / illā / ātī / l-raḥmāni / ʿabdā // 94 la-qad / aḥṣāhum / wa-ʿaddahum / ʿaddan // ⁹⁵ wa-kulluhum / ātīhi / yawma / l-qiyāmati / fardā // 96 inna / lladhīna / āmanū / wa-ʿamilū / l-ṣāliḥāti / sa-yaj ʿalu / lahumu / l-raḥmānu / wuddā // 97 fa-innamā / yassarnāhu / bi-lisānika / li-tubashshira / bihi / l-muttaqīna / wa-tundhira / bihi / qawman / luddā //
III	14	98 wa-kam / ahlaknā / qablahum / min / qarnin / hal / tuḥissu / minhum / min / aḥadin / aw / tasmaʿu / lahum / rikzā //

three thematically or rhythmically defined *saj* 'units (vv. 88–92, vv. 93–97, and v. 98) is relatively solid.

Plausible though such a division of Q 19:88–98 into relatively long, rhythmically defined *saj'ah*s might be, however, this is by no means the only way of partitioning this particular pericope. Verse 98, for instance, is remarkable in the fact that it falls into three near-matched cola of 5–5–4 accentual beats, the first two of which might plausibly be posited to exhibit a degree of grammatical parallelism: clause one terminates *min garn*, clause two *min ahad*:

```
98 wa-kam / ahlaknā / qablahum / min / qarn /
hal / tuḥissu / minhum / min / aḥad /
aw / tasmaʿu / lahum / rikzā //
```

⁹⁸ How many generations We have destroyed before them! Do you perceive a single one of them now, Or hear more than a whisper?

At first glance, *qarn* and *ahad* do not rhyme. The apparently random interplay between –CCā and –CvCā fāṣilahs in Sūrat al-Kahf (Q 18), however, suggests that there might nonetheless be a degree of internal correspondence between these two morphological patterns. Indeed, in Chapter 8 of this volume, Devin Stewart proposes the addition of a supplementary short vowel in words of the CvCC morphological pattern, transforming the scribal *al-raj*, *al-ṣad*, *faṣl*, *hazl*, into the phonetic *al-raji*, *al-ṣadi*, *faṣil*, *hazil*. These two factors combine to render plausible a reading of *qarn* as *qar(i)n*. A supplementary, rhyme-motivated *kasrah* would thus be added in order to maintain the phonetic correspondence between the five accentual beat clause *wa-kam ahlaknā qabla-hum min qar(i)n* and the subsequent five accentual beat clause *hal tuḥissu minhum min aḥad*.

The problem nonetheless remains that, while $min\ qar(i)n$ and $min\ ahad$ might be argued to rhyme with one another, they categorically do not rhyme with the verse-final word of Q 19:98: $rikz\bar{a}$. Here it is helpful to turn to the contextual foils provided by Ibn al-Athīr's predecessor Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013).²² Despite the fact that al-Bāqillānī strenuously denies the appropriateness of the term saj when applied to the Qur'an's rhetorical features, he alludes to a number of verse-medial rhymes within his discussion of passages erroneously cited as evidence of the presence of saj in the Qur'an. Indeed, for al-Bāqillānī, a self-contained degree of rhyme seems to have been the single defining feature in passages of the Qur'an claimed by others as instances of saj . Thus al-Bāqillānī gainsays the accuracy of reports that posit the first part of Q 16:27 as an example of Qur'anic saj .

²⁷ thumma / yawma / l-qiyāmati / yukhzīhim / wa-yaqūlu / ayna / shurakā ʾiya / lladhīna / kuntum / tushāqqūna / fīhim /...

²⁷ On the Day of Resurrection, He will shame them And say, "Where are these partners of Mine on whose account you opposed [Me]?" ...

While rhyme is maintained across these two hypothetical saj 'ahs and this particular passage is thematically self-contained, there is no rhythmic balance (the unit consists of 4–7 accentual beats) and this alleged saj unit resides outside of the surrounding rhyme (the masculine sound plural ending $-\bar{u}n/-\bar{\iota}n$) of Sūrat al-Nahl (O 16) itself.

Al-Bāqillānī also cites the example of the central part of Q 9:24:

```
<sup>24</sup> (... ahabba / ilaykum / mina /)
   llāhi / wa-rasūlih /
   wa-jihādin / fī / sabīlih /...
```

²⁴ (... dearer to you than) God and His messenger And the struggle in His cause ...

Although this particular fact is not specified by al-Bāqillānī, this passage must be dependent upon the introductory phrase that terminates ahabba ilaykum mina ("dearer to you than"), from which both allāhi wa-rasūlihi ("God and His messenger") and jihādin fī sabīlihi ("the struggle in His cause") emerge (and which has accordingly been shown in parentheses, above). The two saj 'ahs then contain a rhythmically acceptable 2-3 accentual beats. Nonetheless, the dominant rhyme pattern of the surah consists in the masculine sound plural. The alleged saj couplet is accordingly embedded within Q 9:24 rather than residing in parallel with it. The verse in its entirety reads as follows:

²⁴ qul / in / kāna / ābā'ukum / wa-abnā'ukum / wa-ikhwānukum / waazwājukum / wa-'ashīratukum / wa-amwālun / iqtaraftumūhā / wa-tijāratun / takhshawna / kasādahā / wa-masākinu / tardawnahā / **aḥabba / ilaykum** / mina / llāhi / wa-rasūlihi / wa-jihādin / fī / sabīlihi / fa-tarabbaṣū / hattā / ya'tiya / llāhu / bi-amrihi / wa-llāhu / lā / yahdī / l-qawma / l-fāsiqīn //

A third passage mentioned by al-Bāqillānī spans two verses of Sūrat Āl 'Imrān (Q 3:48–49):

```
<sup>48</sup> ... wa-l-tawrāta / wa-l-injīl //
```

⁴⁹ wa-rasūlan / ilā / banī / isrā ʾīl /...

⁴⁸ ... and the Torah and the Gospel,

⁴⁹ [Sending him] as a messenger to the Banū Isrāʾīl ...

Here we have a proposed two-verse saj unit of 2–4 accentual beats that requires the inclusion of the additional three accentual beats of the phrase that precedes it: wa-yu allimuhu l- $kit\bar{a}ba$ wa-l-hikmata ("He will teach him scripture and wisdom") in order to make sense, rendering this a saj unit of 5–4 accentual beats. While the cited passage itself displays internal rhyme, this section of Sūrat Āl 'Imrān maintains a prevailing rhyme in $-\bar{u}n/-\bar{t}n/-\bar{u}m/-\bar{t}m$, from which the $f\bar{a}silah$ of v. 48 is an anomaly.

Al-Bāqillānī's final example of a passage erroneously posited by others as Qur'anic *saj* 'is taken from Sūrat Maryam (Q 19:4):

```
<sup>4</sup> ... innī /
wahana / l- ʿazmu / minnī /...
```

⁴ ... Indeed My bones have weakened ...

The internal rhyme between *innī* and *minnī* creates a bottom heavy (1–3 accentual beats) two-part *saj* unit that has no thematic integrity.²⁴ Zechariah's reported speech continues with the statement: *wa-shtaʿala l-raʾsu shayban wa-lam akun bi-duʿāʾika rabbi shaqiyyā* ("and my hair is ashen grey, but never, Lord, have I ever prayed to you in vain"). The rhythm of the wider thematic unit has a certain prosodic structure due to the balance between its two central cola (a matched 3–3 accentual beats), but there is no phonetic unity to the *sajʿah*-final words that are thereby created: *innī*, *minnī*, *shaybā*, and *shaqiyyā*.

It is clear from the examples provided within al-Bāqillānī's I'jāz that the assumption that verse divisions and their attendant end-rhyme must always take precedence in the identification of Qur'anic passages as $masj\bar{u}$ does not stand up to scrutiny. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that the 5-5 matched accentual beats of wa-kam ahlaknā qablahum min qar(i)n and hal tuhissu minhum min ahad in Q 19:98 might form an independent two-saj ah unit that resides in parallel to the dominant rhyme of the surrounding surah. Indeed, the much later rhetorician Abū l-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) explicitly refers to two Our'anic passages as containing saj' within saj' (saj'an fī saj'). He explains that 'alā amwālihim and 'alā qulūbihim form a separate saj 'unit within rabbanā tmis 'alā amwālihim wa-shdud 'alā qulūbihim fa-lā yu'minū ḥattā yarawu l-'adhāba l-alīm (Q 10:88, "... Our Lord, obliterate their wealth and harden their hearts so that they do not believe until they see the agonizing torment"). Similarly, al-Qalqashandī posits bi-ākhidhīhi and tughmiḍū fīhi as two embedded saj ahs (saj atān dākhilatān) within wa-lastum bi-ākhidhīhi illā an tughmidū fīhi wa-'lamū anna llāha ghaniyyun ḥamīd (Q 2:267, "... You would not accept them unless your eyes were closed. Remember that God is selfsufficient, worthy of all praise"). Al-Qalqashandī is explicit about the cited unit, in both instances, forming a saj 'unit into which a pair of saj 'ahs is embedded.²⁵

Returning to the wider passage Q 19:88–98, the internal rhythms of the beginning of this pericope similarly invite further investigation. The repeated feminine

imperfect verbs of v. 90 ($tak\bar{a}du$... wa-tanshaqqu ... wa-takhirru ...) create a lilting rhythm to this verse that is not reflected in the verses that surround it. In Table 6.6, this disparity was smoothed over by the summation of vv. 88–89, and of vv. 91–92, into two single saj 'ahs, thereby creating a near-matched 8–9–10 unit rhyming in $-d\bar{a}$. Rhythmically, however, it seems equally feasible to leave the saj 'boundaries of vv. 88–89 and 91–92 at their original verse borders, and to divide v. 90 into two, thereby creating the following 4–4–4–5–4–6 rhythmical unit:

```
88 wa-qālū / ttakhadha / l-raḥmānu / waladā //
89 la-qad / ji 'tum / shay 'an / iddā //
90 takādu / l-samāwātu / yatafaṭṭarna / minhu /
wa-tanshaqqu / l-arḍu / wa-takhirru / l-jibālu / haddā //
91 an / da 'aw / li-l-raḥmāni / waladā /
92 wa-mā / yanbighī / li-l-raḥmāni / an / yattakhidha / waladā //
88 They say, "The Lord of Mercy has a child."
89 How terrible is this thing you assert!
90 It almost causes the heavens to be torn apart,
The earth to split asunder, the mountains to crumble to pieces,
91 That they attribute a child to the Lord of Mercy.
```

⁹² It does not befit the Lord of Mercy to have a child.

Two evident problems arise with this structural solution to vv. 88–92. Rhythmically, the three repeated feminine imperfect verbs of a bi-fold v. 90 protrude from their aural environment to no less a degree than they did from the unified v. 90 of Table 6.6. Although a degree of rhythmical unity is maintained across the entire passage, there remains an audible break at the beginning of v. 90 which should, perhaps, not be ignored. Phonetically, meanwhile, the *saj ah*-final word of v. 90a (*minhu*) clearly does not rhyme with the *saj ah*-final words that surround it. For a solution to both of these problems we shall turn to another medieval rhetorician: Abū Abd Allāh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338).

In his 1990 article on saj in the Qur'an, Devin Stewart mentions the existence of a saj category to which he gives the label "a quatrain" (the $rub\bar{a}$ \bar{i} form). As Stewart explains, a poetic quatrain consists of four hemistichs of which the first, second, and fourth hemistichs rhyme. When this pattern is translated into saj, Stewart posits a situation in which the $rub\bar{a}$ \bar{i} form becomes a paradigm in which two saj ahs of equal length are followed by a third saj ah about twice as long as the previous two saj ahs. Ibn al-Athīr provides a passage of his own composition in illustration of such "bottom-heavy" saj, but al-Qazwīnī cites Q 69:30–31: $khudh\bar{u}hu$ $fa-ghull\bar{u}h$ * thumma $l-jah\bar{u}ma$ $sall\bar{u}h$.

As Stewart suggests, in his analysis of al-Qazwīnī's statement, the first verse contains two saj 'ahs, while the second verse contains three times the number of accentual beats of the preceding two saj 'ahs, with the suggestion—if this passage were to be read as an example of the "quatrain" ($rub\bar{a}$ ' $\bar{\imath}$) form—of an internal break after al- $jah\bar{\imath}m$. The four saj 'ahs from Sūrat al-Ḥāqqah would then read 1-1-2-1 as follows:

```
    30 khudhūh / fa-ghullūh //
    31 thumma / l-jaḥīm / ṣallūh //
    30 Take him.
    Collar him.
    31 To the burning Fire Lead him.
```

As one might expect from the quatrain form, this unit displays a relatively clear rhyme in $CvC(C)\bar{u}h$ at the end of saj 'ahs I, II, and IV, while saj 'ah III terminates in the non-corresponding end-word al- $jah\bar{u}m$. Although all four saj 'ahs rhyme loosely in $CvC(C)\bar{u}/\bar{i}C$, the very close rhyme of saj 'ahs I, II, and IV is not maintained in saj 'ah III.

This is not the only way in which saj ah III protrudes, however. Rhythmically, its two accentual beats are in sharp contrast to the single accentual beats of saj ahs I, II, and IV. Grammatically, meanwhile, saj ah III differs from saj ahs I, II, and IV in not being in itself a complete clause. The threefold rhythmic, phonetic, and grammatical anomaly that would be the third saj ah of a proposed four-saj ah unit encompassing Q 69:30–31 consequently suggests that the "quatrain" (rubā ī) form is not, perhaps, the most apposite model for Qur'anic passages of this particular type. Q 69:31 seems, rather, to exist outside of the rhythmic texture of its surroundings in a way that is reminiscent of an introductory phrase, rendering the passage in its entirety as follows:

```
30 khudhūh /
fa-ghullūh //
31 (thumma / l-jaḥīma /)
ṣallūh //
30 Take him.
Collar him.
31 (To the burning Fire)
Lead him.
```

The idea that parts of a Qur'anic verse can be $masj\bar{u}$, while other parts exist in structural isolation from the saj unit in which they are prima facie located, provides a useful paradigm for the classification of saj structures. From the pages of al-Bāqillānī, it seems clear that saj was posited for Qur'anic passages bound consistently by a strong degree of internal rhyme, but only occasionally by a matched correspondence in rhythm. These passages were always short, and rarely seem to have coincided with the prevailing rhyme of the surah within which they were embedded. Ibn al-Athīr, meanwhile, identifies the $masj\bar{u}$ passages of the Qur'an as places where rhythmic correspondence occurs within the confines of the prevailing rhyme of the surah. Single

saj 'ahs might incorporate more than one Qur'anic verse, thereby exhibiting internal rhyme correspondences, but where two rhythmic cola are bound by contrasting final terms, Ibn al-Athīr's habit would seem to have been to combine these into an arrhythmic saj 'ah, rather than translate the quatrain form literally, such that rhythm was maintained within a I, II, IV rhyme pattern. Indeed, it seems apparent that what Ibn al-Athīr intended, in his citation of Q 19:88–90 as an example of unbalanced saj ', was an 8–9 accentual beat unit consisting of vv. 88–89 and v. 90. It is equally clear, however, that Q 19:88–90 could equally well be divided into smaller rhythmic units of 4–4–4–5 accentual beats. Al-Qazwīnī's cited example of Q 69:30–31 opens up the possibility that one of these smaller units might be removed from the prevailing rhyme, such that the phonetic integrity of the wider passage is maintained.

The challenge nonetheless remains of how best to tabulate the contrasting rhymes, rhythms, and correspondences of Q 19:88–98 in *saj* 'form. In Table 6.7, vv. 88–89 have been laid out as a two-*saj* 'ah unit of matched accentual beats (4–4). Verses 90–91 have been depicted as a three-*saj* 'ah unit, somewhat unbalanced, from which the first *saj* 'ah has been removed from the surrounding phonetic texture as a quasi-introductory phrase. Verse 92 then stands alone, its six accentual beats placing it rhythmically apart from the preceding. It accordingly serves as an audible closer to this thematic unit; compare the similar structures of Q 100:11 and Q 25:14 as laid out above. Dotted lines have been used between *saj* 'units I, II, and III to reflect the presence of a complex circular band: *al-raḥmānu waladā* (v. 88) returns in both v. 91 (*li-l-raḥmāni waladā*) and v. 92 (*wa-mā yanbaghī li-l-raḥmāni an yattakhidha waladā*).

A new thematic unit opens in Table 6.7 with subunit IV, whose closely matched accentual beats (9–9–9–10) are significantly longer than those of the

Ι	4 4	88 wa-qālū / ttakhadha / l-raḥmānu / waladā // 89 la-qad / ji 'tum / shay 'an / iddā //			
II	(4) 5 4	⁹⁰ (takādu / l-samawātu / yatafaṭṭarna / minhu /) wa-tanshaqqu / l-arḍu / wa-takhirru / l-jibālu / haddā // ⁹¹ an / daʿaw / li-l-raḥmāni / waladā //			
III	6	92 wa-mā / yanbaghī / li-l-raḥmāni / an / yattakhidha / waladā //			
IV	9 9 9	93 in / kullu / man / fi l-samāwāti / wa-l-arḍi / illā / ātī / l-raḥmāni / ʿabdā // 94 la-qad / aḥṣāhum / wa-ʿaddahum / ʿaddan // 95 wa-kulluhum / ātīhi / yawma / l-qiyāmati / fardā // 96 inna / lladhīna / āmanū / wa-ʿamilū / l-ṣāliḥāti / sa-yaj ʿalu / lahumu / l-raḥmānu / wuddā // 97 fa-innamā / yassarnāhu / bi-lisānika / li-tubashshira / bihi / l-muttaqīna / wa-tundhira / bihi / qawman / luddā //			
V	5 5	⁹⁸ wa-kam / ahlaknā / qablahum / min / qar(i)n / hal / tuḥissu / minhum / min / aḥad /			
VI	4	aw / tasmaʻu / lahum / rikzā //			

Table 6.7 Proposing a subsequent segmentation of O 19:88–98 into six subunits

units that surround it. The grammatical parallelism and accommodated rhyme of $min\ qar(i)n$ and $min\ ahad$ then creates a phonetically discrete pair of five accentual beat $saj\ ahs$ out of the first two cola of v. 98.28 The final colon of this verse, $aw\ tasma\ u\ lahum\ rikz\bar{a}$ ("Or hear more than a whisper?") observes the dominant rhyme of the wider pericope. It has accordingly been separated from the preceding unit (rhyming in $-CC\bar{a}$) by a dotted line. This reflects the use of dotted lines to demarcate the grammatical and rhythmical inclusions Q 100:9–10 and Q 25:12–13, above.

iii Q 56:27-30 as an Example of "Unbalanced" Saj'

The apparent complexity of Our'anic sai' becomes even more apparent in the final example of "unbalanced" saj to be cited by Ibn al-Athīr. The opening statement of the detailed description of "those on the right" from Sūrat al-Wāqi ah (Q 56:27–30) is included in Ibn al-Athīr's section on bottom-heavy saj in illustration of the fact that, despite the permissibility of combining two verses in order to match a surrounding rhythmical structure, ²⁹ the Qur'an also includes strings of evenly matched verses which are not intended to be summed together. Q 56:27-30 is described by Ibn al-Athīr as a single saj 'unit on a rhythm of two accentual beats. Ibn al-Athīr thus counts all of v. 27, and the initial fi of v. 28, as an introductory phrase, whose accentual beats are not included in the tally. The beginning of the unit is thus marked by the presence of this introductory phrase, wa-ashābu l-vamīni mā ashābu *l-vamīn* * fī ... ("Those on the Right! What People they are! [They will dwell] amid ..."). The end of the unit suggested by Ibn al-Athīr, however, is much less clear cut. Even though the depth of the matching end-rhyme dips in v. 31 (from CvCCin maCCūd to -Cin maCCūd/b), there nonetheless seems no reason not to include this verse, wa-mā'in maskūb ("flowing water") in the same saj' unit. This phrase, after all, matches in accentual beats, displays the same grammatical form, and has a final word (maskūb) which corresponds morphologically to the preceding rhyme words makhdūd, mandūd, and mamdūd; d and b are, moreover, commonly held to rhyme in Qur'anic contexts. 30 Verse 32, meanwhile, wa-fākihatin kathīrah ("abundant fruits"), is also logically and grammatically enjambed to the preceding, and matches it in accentual beats and basic grammatical structure.

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<sup>27</sup> wa-aṣḥābu / l-yamīni / mā / aṣḥābu / l-yamīn //
<sup>28</sup> fī / sidrin / makhḍūd //
<sup>29</sup> wa-ṭalḥin / mandūd //
<sup>30</sup> wa-zallin / mamdūd //
<sup>31</sup> wa-mā 'in / maskūb //
<sup>32</sup> wa-fākihatin / kathīrah //
<sup>33</sup> lā / maqṭū ʿatin / wa-lā / mamnū ʿah //
<sup>34</sup> wa-furushin / marfū ʿah //
```

²⁷ Those on the Right! What People they are!

²⁸ [They will dwell] amid thornless lotus,

- ²⁹ And clustered acacia.
- ³⁰ And spreading shade,
- ³¹ And flowing water,
- ³² And abundant fruits,
- ³³ Never failing, never forbidden,
- ³⁴ And exquisite³¹ companions.³²

As will be shown in Table 6.8, this passage from Sūrat al-Wāqi'ah (Q 56) can be divided into six apparent sai' units. The initial introductory phrase spawns a simple string of four two-beat phrases rhyming in -Cin maCCūd/b. This same introductory phrase then gives rise to two further, non-adjacent saj 'ahs (vv. 32 and 34), again of two accentual beats each but rhyming in $-C\bar{u}Cah/-C\bar{v}Cah$ and with a small degree of grammatical parallelism in their paired initial wa-s. The rhyme change between vv. 31 and 32 makes it clear that a new saj unit begins at this juncture of the surah; the grammatical parallelism between vv. 32 and 34 suggests that these two verses are part of the same, two-saj ah unit. Verse 33, meanwhile, is suspended in between vv. 32 and 34. While this verse, like vv. 32 and 34, rhymes in $-C\bar{u}Cah/-C\bar{\iota}Cah$, it can itself be divided into two saj'ahs of two accentual beats each, distinguished by their matched grammatical pattern ($l\bar{a}$... $wa-l\bar{a}$...) but consistent with the surrounding verses both in end-rhyme and in accentual beat patterning, comparable in many ways to the phonetically suspended unit that comprises the first two clauses of O 19:98, but here grammatically rather than phonetically defined.

Verses 35–36 are structured differently again, with an initial $inn\bar{a}$ spawning two closely matched verses rhyming in $-CaCn\bar{a}hunna$ vCC \bar{a} C \bar{a} . In addition to the change in rhyme, moreover, this section of the surah no longer stems from the initial introductory phrase in vv. 27 and 28, suggesting that there is without doubt a new saj unit at this juncture, even though vv. 35–37 describe the "exquisite companions" which are arguably referred to in v. 34.³³ That such thematic considerations do not preclude the presence of more than one saj unit within a block of text has been made clear by such previously argued examples as the Q 100 split muqsam bihi and muqsam alayhi and the Q 25 split $idh\bar{a}$ construction.

```
^{35} innar{a} / ansha 'nar{a}hunna / inshar{a} 'ar{a} //
```

The slight disparity in accentual beats (v. 35 contains three accentual beats, and v. 36 two accentual beats) suggests that the initial $inn\bar{a}$ should be read as an introductory phrase. Verses 35–36 are then perfectly parallel: the two-beat ansha $n\bar{a}hunna$ $insh\bar{a}$ is matched by the two-beat ja 'aln $\bar{a}hunna$ $abk\bar{a}r\bar{a}$.

Verse 37 ("Loving, of matching age"; 'uruban atrābā) is quite different, a non-verbal extension of v. 36. As such, therefore, wa-ja 'alnāhunna ("We rendered

 $^{^{36}}$ wa-ja ʻalnāhunna / abkārā //

³⁵ We created them anew,

³⁶ We rendered them virginal ...

them"), in itself under the influence of the introductory $inn\bar{a}$ ("We") of v. 36, holds grammatical sway of its own over three terms (all in the indefinite accusative): $abk\bar{a}ran$, 'uruban, and $atr\bar{a}ban$. It is worth observing the shallow rhyme, -Can or $-C\bar{a}$, of these three end-words. Rhyme could be argued to dictate that, within this passage from Sūrat al-Wāqi ah, the three consecutively rhyming end-words of vv. 36–37 be laid out as linear saj:

```
<sup>36</sup> wa-ja 'alnāhunna / abkārā // <sup>37</sup> 'urubā / atrābā // <sup>36</sup> We rendered them virginal, <sup>37</sup> loving, of matching age ...
```

Rhythmically, however, there is a strong counter-argument for the following 2–2–2–2 unit, ignoring the grammatical dependency of all of v. 37 on the *ja'alnāhunna* of v. 36 and, indeed, ignoring the disturbance in end-rhyme that is created if the rhythmically equal, and grammatically enjambed, v. 38 (*li-aṣḥābi l-yamīn*, "For Those on the Right") is collocated with its peers as part of the same *saj'* unit:

```
<sup>35</sup> (innā /)
ansha ʾnāhunna / inshā ʾā //
<sup>36</sup> wa-ja ʿalnāhunna / abkārā //
<sup>37</sup> ʿuruban / atrābā //
<sup>38</sup> li-aṣḥābi / l-yamīn //
```

Verse 38 is enjambed to the preceding, which can be logically represented as follows:

```
A <sup>35</sup> We (innā)
B Created them anew (ansha ʾnāhunna inshā ʾā),
B <sup>36</sup> Rendered them virginal (wa-ja ʿalnāhunna abkārā),
C <sup>37</sup> Loving, of matching age (ʿuruban atrābā),
D <sup>38</sup> For Those on the Right (li-aṣḥābi l-yamīn).
```

Either of the B clauses could be removed without disturbing the sense of the Qur'anic passage; the C clause, similarly, is not required in order for clause D to make sense. At the same time, v. 38 matches the preceding verses in its accentual beat rhythm (2–2–2–2) while protruding from them in its end-rhyme (vCCāCā becomes yamīn). Indeed, Q 56:38 forms a circular band, both in terms of its rhyme and via lexical repetition, with Q 56:27 (wa-aṣḥābu l-yamīni mā aṣḥābu l-yamīn, "Those on the Right! What People they are!"). A similar device was arguably present in Q 19:88 and 92, both of which pivot around the terms ittakhadha, al-raḥmān, and waladā.

The three accentual beats of the final saj unit of this subsection, meanwhile (Q 56:39–40; see Table 6.8), may constitute a clear departure from the prevalent accentual beat pattern, and exhibit matched grammatical parallelism in their repeated thullatun mina l-... constructs, but rhyme considerations nonetheless

serve to connect vv. 39-40 to the preceding verse 38.34 With Q 56:35-38, the paradigms for *sai* 'structures suggested thus far are exhausted.

It is difficult to rationalize the placement of Q 56:38 in the sai 'structure of its environs. Considerations of rhythm link vv. 27–38 and 39–40. Rhyme, however, produces different subdivisions, with links between vv. 27 and 38-40, 28-31, 32-34, 35-37, and 38-40. Lexical or grammatical parallelism, meanwhile, suggest connections between vv. 27 and 38, 28-31, 32 and 34, 33a and 33b, 35–36, 36–37, and 39–40. This is far from the simple string of consecutive saj units illustrated in Table 6.3 with reference to O 93. The adjacent rhyme words at the end of vv. 36 and 37 are, however, strongly redolent of closure, and traversing this structural boundary with a further stich which moreover protrudes in end-rhyme seems unjustifiable. In my view, the passage in its entirety can best be laid out as shown in Table 6.8.

In Table 6.8, Q 56:38 has been categorized as a separate saj unit, whose connection to the preceding material has been reflected in the placement of a dotted line dividing saj units IV and V.35 A firm structural border at the close of v. 38 is created by the strong grammatical parallelism of vv. 39 and 40, and the shift to three accentual beats at this juncture.36 This overrides the presence of endrhyme linking vv. 39-40 to v. 38 to create a separate saj unit consisting of vv. 39-40. This structure has been reflected by the placement of a solid line between vv. 38 and 39. Ibn al-Athīr's suggested introductory phrase, meanwhile

$T_{-1}I_{-1} < 0$	Danalaina	\cap	EC.37 40	:4	-:	1
Table 6.8	Breaking	v	30:2/ -4 0	mto	SIX	Subunits

I	6	²⁷ wa-aṣḥābu / l-yamīni / mā / aṣḥābu / l-yamīn //
II	(1) 2 2 2 2	²⁸ (fī /) sidrin / makhḍūd // ²⁹ wa-ṭalḥin / manḍūd // ³⁰ wa-zallin / mamdūd // ³¹ wa-mā 'in / maskūb //
II	2	³² wa-fākihatin / kathīrah //
III	2 2	³³ lā / maqṭūʻah / wa-lā / mamnūʻah //
II	2	³⁴ wa-furushin / marfūʿah //
IV	(1) 2 2 2	³⁵ (innā /) ansha ʾnāhunna / inshā ʾā // ³⁶ wa-ja ʿalnāhunna / abkārā // ³⁷ ʿuruban / atrābā //
V	2	³⁸ li-aṣḥābi / l-yamīn //
VI	3	³⁹ thullatun / mina / l-awwalīn // ⁴⁰ wa-thullatun / mina / l-ākhirīn //

(wa-aṣḥābu l-yamīni $m\bar{a}$ aṣḥābu l-yamīn * $f\bar{i}$), has been split into a single opening saj 'ah (see, for comparison, Q 25:11) followed by a short introductory phrase ($f\bar{i}$).

3 Explicitly Short Saj

Ibn al-Athīr cites four examples under the category "short *saj*". These examples are taken from Sūrat al-Mursalāt (Q 77:1–2), Sūrat al-Muddaththir (Q 74:1–7), Sūrat al-Najm (Q 53:1–3), and Sūrat al-Qamar (Q 54:1–3).

i Q 77:1-2 as an Example of "Short" Saj'

The opening two verses of Sūrat al-Mursalāt (Q 77), wa-l-mursilāti 'urfā * fa-l-'āṣifāti 'aṣfā, are part of a seven-verse Qur'anic "sentence" swearing to the truth of the promise God has made that the end of the world will come to pass. As in the previous example, there is no immediately perceptible reason for why Ibn al-Athīr should have suggested a unit consisting of these two verses in particular, and it initially seems possible that his citation might have been expected to serve merely as a prompt. Upon closer inspection, however, there is an argument for dividing the first six verses of Sūrat al-Mursalāt into couplets. A strong preference for rhyming couplets in saj 'is expressed by the medieval rhetorical tradition.³⁷ The presence of the repeated incipial oath-marker wa- at v. 3, moreover, suggests a minor break at this juncture. Other oath series in the Qur'an consist either of a string of repeated wa-s,³⁸ of an initial wa- followed by fa-s,³⁹ or, in one instance, by a series of initial wa-s followed by a string of fa-s.⁴⁰ In all of these instances, wa- is series- or oath-initial, while fa- serves only to connect one oath to another oath (introduced by either wa- or fa-) that precedes it.

A division of Q 77:1–7 at the second wa- produces the following pair of couplets:

```
<sup>1</sup> wa-l-mursilāti 'urfā

<sup>2</sup> fa-l- 'āsifāti 'asfā
```

Moving on within the surah, v. 5 similarly opens with the medial oath-marker fa-. However, vv. 5–6 differ from the verses that precede them by dint of being enjambed. They moreover exhibit a high degree of internal rhyme (dhikran,

¹ By the swiftly dispatched,

² By the violently storming ...

³ wa-l-nāshirāti nashrā

 $^{^4}$ fa-l-fāriqāti farqā

³ By the disparately scattering,

⁴ By the forcefully separating ...

'udhran, and *nudhran* all being of the morphological pattern CvCr and displaying the matching indefinite accusative ending -an or, if read pausally, $-\bar{a}$). This might be taken to suggest that, like the example of Q 56:36–37 explicated above, these two verses comprise a discrete saj unit that could plausibly be structured in a linear fashion

The force of the prevailing accentual beat pattern, however, suggests rather that Q 77:1–6 divides into three couplets: vv. 1–2, 3–4, and 5–6. This has been reflected in the layout of Table 6.9, within which v. 7, moreover, is presented as a single verse *saj* 'ah. Despite the fact that vv. 7 and 8 both contain three accentual beats, the clear change in rhyme and the shift in grammatical pattern between v. 7 and v. 8 make it clear that a new *saj* ' unit begins at this juncture.⁴¹

Single-verse closing *saj* '*ah*s seem very much to be a feature of Qur'anic *saj* ' and were already observed with reference to Q 100:11 and Q 56:38.

Table 6.9 Breaking Q 77:1-7 into four subunits

Ι	2 2	¹ wa-l-mursilāti / ʿurfā // ² fa-l-ʿāṣifāti / ʿaṣfā //
II	2 2	³ wa-l-nāshirāti / nashrā // ⁴ fa-l-fāriqāti / farqā //
III	2 3	⁵ fa-l-mulqiyāti / dhikrā // ⁶ ʿudhran / aw / nudhrā //
IV	3	¹ innamā / tūʿadūna / la-wāqiʿ //

ii Q 74:1-7 as an Example of "Short" Saj'

The next example of short Qur'anic saj cited by Ibn al-Athīr is the opening five verses of Sūrat al-Muddaththir (Q 74; see Table 6.10) which, along with vv. 6–7, form the introductory paragraph to this surah. The matched wa- ... fa-... grammatical structure of vv. 2–5 would initially appear to designate this a discrete

⁵ fa-l-mulqiyāti dhikrā ⁶ 'udhrā aw nudhrā

⁵ By the deliverers of reminders, ⁶ as proof or as warning ...

⁷ innamā tū 'adūna la-wāqi '

⁸ fa-idhā l-nujūmu ṭumisat

⁹ wa-idhā l-samā'u furijat

⁷ What you are promised will come to pass.

⁸ When the stars are dimmed,

⁹ When the sky is torn apart ...

saj unit with a two-accentual-beat rhythm, attached to an introductory phrase (v. 1), yā-ayyuhā l-muddaththir. As was witnessed with regard to Q 56:33 and Q 25:12–13, the central material within this opening saj unit displays an increased degree of parallelism. The consistency of the accentual beat rhythm across vv. 1–5, however, coupled with the repeated grammatical structure, and the near-repeated end-rhyme, discourage any interpretation of Q 74:3–4 as an embedded saj unit within a wider saj structure.

```
1 (yā-ayyuhā / l-muddaththir //)
2 qum / fa-andhir //
3 wa-rabbaka / fa-kabbir //
4 wa-thiyābaka / fa-ṭahhir //
5 wa-l-rujza / fa-hjur //

1 (You, wrapped in your cloak,)
2 Arise and give warning,
3 Proclaim the greatness of your Lord,
4 Cleanse your garments,
5 Keep away from filth.
```

The subsequent increase to three accentual beats in v. 6, coupled with a slight shift in end-rhyme, would seem to mark the beginning of a fresh *saj* unit at this point.

```
<sup>6</sup> wa-lā / tamnun / tastakthir //

<sup>7</sup> wa-li-rabbika / fa-sbir //
```

The structure of Q 74:1–7 is, however, intriguing. The return to a slightly protruding end-rhyme in v. 6 (vv. 1 and 6 terminate in CvCCvCthir, as opposed to the fa-CvCCir or fa-CCir of vv. 2–5 and v. 7) is reminiscent of the much more obvious return to the $yam\bar{n}$ rhyme in Q 56, and it is striking that in both cases the first occurrences of this protruding rhyme word would appear to occur in introductory phrases. The absence of direct lexical repetition, nonetheless, discourages any interpretation of Q 74:1.6 as forming a circular band. The resumption of the wa- ... fa -... grammatical pattern in v. 7, meanwhile, bears similarities to the return to an inna ... la ... pattern after a two-verse saj unit insertion in Q 100:11, yet it seems very unlikely that v. 6 might be classified as an independent embedded saj unit in any way comparable to Q 100:9–10. It should, moreover, be noted that vv. 6–7 are no less emergent from the introductory phrase $y\bar{a}$ - $ayyuh\bar{a}$ l-muddaththir than are vv. 2–5.

What we would appear to have here, then, is two saj' units both of which open with a saj'ah rhyming in CvCCvCthir, and neither of which should be

⁶ Do not give, hoping only to receive.

⁷ Be steadfast in your Lord's cause.

classified as introductory phrases. Both of these CvCCvCthir saj 'ahs are then followed by either a short or a long run of two-accentual-beat saj 'ahs of the pervading grammatical pattern wa- ... fa-... . This is the interpretation of the structure of O 74:1–7 that has been reflected in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10 Breaking Q 74:1–7 into two subunits

Ι	2 2 2 2 2	¹ yā-ayyuhā / l-muddaththir // ² qum / fa-andhir // ³ wa-rabbaka / fa-kabbir // ⁴ wa-thiyābaka / fa-ṭahhir // ⁵ wa-l-rujza / fa-hjur //
II	3 2	⁶ wa-lā / tamnun / tastakthir // ⁷ wa-li-rabbika / fa-ṣbir //

iii Q 53:1-3 as an Example of "Short" Saj'

The first three verses of Sūrat al-Najm (Q 53), similarly cited by Ibn al-Athīr as an example of short saj, are distinctive on account of the repeated $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... grammatical construct of vv. 2 and 3. This was presumably felt to supersede the slight variety in the accentual beats of Q 53:1–3 in order to create a 3–5–4 saj unit of these three verses, rhyming in $Caw\bar{a}$.

```
<sup>1</sup> wa-l-najmi / idhā / hawā //

<sup>2</sup> mā / ḍalla / ṣāḥibukum / wa-mā / ghawā //

<sup>3</sup> wa-mā / yantiqu / ʿani / l-hawā //
```

Ibn al-Athīr's proposed *saj* 'unit Q 53:1–3 is followed by a number of rhythmically defined pericopes. Verses 5–8 count in at a rhythm of three accentual beats; vv. 9–11 at five accentual beats; vv. 12–13 at four accentual beats; vv. 14–15 at three accentual beats; vv. 16–17 at five accentual beats; and v. 18 at six accentual beats. It should immediately be noted that, while v. 1 of Ibn al-Athīr's suggested unit is not rhythmically matched to the verses that follow it, this is not the case for v. 4.

Moreover, while rhythm would suggest a clear structural break between the five accentual beats of vv. 9–11 and the four accentual beats of vv. 12–13, there is also a case for arguing that the grammatical parallelism of the repeated $m\bar{a}$ closers of vv. 10–12 take precedence over the surah's accentual beat rhythm.

¹ By the star when it sets,

² Your companion has not strayed and is not deluded,

³ He does not speak from [his own] desire.

⁴ in / huwa / illā / wahyun / yūhā //

⁴ It is nothing less than a revelation revealed.

```
<sup>10</sup> fa-awḥā / ilā / ʿabdihī / mā / awḥā //
<sup>11</sup> mā / kadhaba / l-fu ʾādu / mā / ra ʾā //
<sup>12</sup> a-fa-tumārūnahu / ʿalā / mā / yarā //
```

- ¹⁰ He revealed to His servant what he revealed.
- ¹¹ His own heart did not distort what he saw.
- ¹² Are you going to argue with him over what he sees?

A section break between vv. 12 and 13 is suggested by Angelika Neuwirth on thematic grounds: vv. 5–12 describe Muḥammad's first vision; vv. 13–18 his second.⁴² Meanwhile, logic would imply that vv. 8 and 9 reside together, with the *fa*- clauses of vv. 8, 9, and 10 all emerging from the *thumma* clause at the very beginning of v. 8.

```
<sup>8</sup> thumma / danā / fa-tadallā //
<sup>9</sup> fa-kāna / qāba / qawsayni / aw / adnā //
<sup>10</sup> fa-awhā / ilā / ʿabdihi / mā / awhā //
```

- ⁸ Then he came near and descended.
- ⁹ He was two bow-lengths away or even nearer.
- ¹⁰ He revealed to His servant what he revealed.

The existence of possible areas of tension between what one might consider to be a thematic unit and what would nonetheless appear to be a *saj* '-informed unit was highlighted with reference to Sūrat al-'Ādiyāt (Q 100) and Sūrat al-Furqān (Q 25) above. The situation in Sūrat al-Najm (Q 53) is, however, different. In Sūrat al-'Ādiyāt, the *muqsam bihi* ("that which is sworn by") of an oath was found to reside in a different *saj* 'unit to the *muqsam 'alayhi* ("that which is sworn"). In Sūrat al-Furqān, an *idhā* ("when") construction was argued to be structurally and rhythmically distinct from its apodosis. In the opening verses of Sūrat al-Najm, rhythmical shifts, grammatical parallelism, and apparent thematic units provide frequently conflicting indicators of structural divide, and yet this entire surah is cited by al-Qalqashandī as exemplifying the presence of *saj* 'in the Qur'an,⁴³ so it seems inconceivable that these apparent tensions should be dismissed as incidental.

In Table 6.11, an attempt has been made to create an orthographic system that might rationalize the various indicators at play in Q 53:1–18. Verse 1 has been placed in parentheses as an introductory phrase, thereby granting it immunity from the rhythmical texture of the verses that follow. While it could plausibly function as a stand-alone initial *saj* 'ah, recalling the structures of Q 25:11 and Q 56:27, vv. 2, 3, and 4 can all be read as emerging from v. 1 with no loss of sense.

```
1 (wa-l-najmi / idhā / hawā //)
2 mā / ḍalla / ṣāḥibukum / wa-mā / ghawā //
3 wa-mā / yanṭiqu / ʿani / l-hawā //
4 in / huwa / illā / wahyun / yūhā //
```

- ¹ (By the star when it sets!)
 - ² Your companion has not straved and is not deluded.
 - ³ He does not speak from [his own] desire.
 - ⁴ It is nothing less than a revelation revealed.

The introductory phrase paradigm would, therefore, appear to be the most appropriate way of interpreting this verse.

The rhythmical integrity of vv. 5–8 has then been respected by the creation of sai' unit II. which reads as follows.

```
<sup>5</sup> 'allamahu / shadīdu / l-auwā //
6 dhū / mirratin / fa-stawā //
<sup>7</sup> wa-huwa / bi-l-ufuqi / l-a 'lā //
8 thumma / danā / fa-tadallā //
```

- ⁵ It was taught to him by one with mighty powers
- ⁶ And great strength. He stood
- ⁷ On the highest horizon.
- ⁸ Then he came near and descended.

Verses 9–11, meanwhile, with their distinctive five-beat accentual rhythm, are thematically dependent on the verses that precede them but can nonetheless be removed from the text of Sūrat al-Najm without creating a grammatical nonsense of its verses

```
<sup>9</sup> fa-kāna / qāba / qawsayni / aw / adnā //
10 fa-awḥā / ilā / ʿabdihi / mā / awhā //
11 mā / kadhaba / l-fu 'ādu / mā / ra 'ā //
```

- ⁹ He was two bow-lengths away or even nearer.
- ¹⁰ He revealed to His servant what he revealed.
- ¹¹ His heart did not distort what he saw.

They have therefore been afforded their own saj unit (unit III), separated from unit II by the presence of a dotted line to indicate thematic integrity, and indented to reflect their embedment.

A similar argument can be made regarding vv. 14–15: their three-beat rhythm and extended grammatical parallelism—a repeated 'inda construct followed in both instances by an idāfah phrase wherein, moreover, the first of both sets of terms rhyme (both sidrati and jannatu being of the morphological form CvCCah)—sets them apart.

```
<sup>14</sup> 'inda / sidrati / l-muntahā //
```

^{15 &#}x27;indahā / jannatu / l-ma'wā //

- ¹⁴ By the Lote Tree of the Boundary,
- 15 Near the Garden of Restfulness ...

The rhythmical and grammatically parallel unit that is vv. 14–15 is, moreover, removeable from its context without the sense of the passage being disturbed, and an alternative 4–4–5–5 structure consisting of vv. 12–13 and vv. 16–17 then becomes a plausible postulate.

```
    12 a-fa-tumārūnahu / 'alā / mā / yarā //
    13 wa-la-qad / ra 'āhu / nazlatan / ukhrā //
    16 idh / yaghshā / l-sidrata / mā / yaghshā //
    17 mā / zāgha / l-baṣaru / wa-mā / ṭaghā //
```

- ¹² Are you going to dispute with him over what he sees?
- ¹³ A second time he saw him.
- ¹⁶ When the tree was somehow covered.
- ¹⁷ His sight never wavered, nor was it too bold.

The potential removability of discrete clauses, verses, and even entire paragraphs is very much a feature of Qur'anic style and it would be impractical to make an attempt to designate every occasion where this might be the case. Nonetheless, if introductory phrases are to be recognized in *saj* 'orthography by the indentation of each of the subsequent dependent clauses, it makes sense for a certain type of *saj* 'paragraph to be similarly marked by an indentation. In the pages of this essay, this logic has been applied to *saj* 'units, marked as such by contrasting rhythms, rhymes, or grammatical structures, that share with the cola that emerge from introductory phrases the grammatical quality of removability. Verses 12–13 have, therefore, been designated as unit IV in Table 6.11, while vv. 14–15 (unit V) have been placed within dotted lines (to indicate thematic cohesion) and indented (to reflect embedment). Verses 16–17 then represent unit VI. It should be noted that the string of $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... clauses in vv. 16–17 are reminiscent of the $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... $m\bar{a}$... clauses in vv. 2–3.

The shift to a new rhythmical and grammatical pattern in v. 18 has been taken to suggest that this verse is a stand-alone *saj 'ah*, thematically connected to the preceding *saj* 'units but rhythmically and structurally separate.

```
<sup>18</sup> la-qad / ra ʾā / min / āvāti / rabbihi / l-kubrā //
```

This stand-alone *saj* '*ah* serves to seal this overarching thematic unit: vv. 19–28 shift to the topic of the female angels granted so-called intercessionary powers by the unbelievers. A similar phenomenon, whereby single-verse *saj* 'units are located at the end of structural units, was visible in Q 77:7 and in Q 56:18, although in the latter case the situation was complicated by the rhyme ring in Q 56:1 and 18 and the extension of the structural unit Q 56:1–18 in the thematically and rhyme-linked O 56:19–20.

¹⁸ He saw some of His Lord's greatest signs.

Table 6.11 Breaking Q 53:1–18 into seven subunits

Ι	(3) 5 4 5	¹ (wa-l-najmi / idhā / hawā //) ² mā / ḍalla / ṣāḥibukum / wa-mā / ghawā // ³ wa-mā / yanṭiqu / ʿani / l-hawā // ⁴ in / huwa / illā / waḥyun / yūḥā //	
II	3 3 3 3	ʻallamahu / shadīdu / l-quwā // dhū / mirratin / fa-stawā // wa-huwa / bi-l-ufuqi / l-a ʿlā // thumma / danā / fa-tadallā //	
III	5 5 5	⁹ fa-kāna / qāba / qawsayni / aw / adnā // ¹⁰ fa-awḥā / ilā / ʿabdihi / mā / awḥā // ¹¹ mā / kadhaba / l-fuʾ ādu / mā / raʾā //	
IV	4 4	12 a-fa-tumārūnahu / ʿalā / mā / yarā // 13 wa-la-qad / raʾāhu / nazlatan / ukhrā //	
V	3	¹⁴ 'inda / sidrati / l-muntahā // ¹⁵ 'indahā / jannatu / l-ma 'wā //	
VI	5 5	¹⁶ idh / yaghshā / l-sidrata / mā / yaghshā // ¹⁷ mā / zāgha / l-baṣaru /wa-mā / ṭaghā //	
VII	6	¹⁸ la-qad / raʾā / min / āyāti / rabbihi / l-kubrā //	

iv Q 54:1–3 as an Example of "Short" Saj`

Ibn al-Athīr's final example of short *saj* 'is taken from Sūrat al-Qamar (Q 54), a surah he himself describes as being composed entirely in *saj* '. He proposes the 4–7–6 accentual beat vv. 1–3 as a stand-alone unit.

Rhythmically, however, there would appear to be a strong argument for including vv. 4 and 5 in the same structural unit as vv. 2 and 3. These four verses count in at the not entirely dissimilar 7–6–7–5 accentual beats. All four of these verses, moreover, consist of multiple clauses, the last of which counts in at a uniform three accentual beats.

¹ iqtarabati / l-sā 'atu / wa-nshaqqa / l-qamar //

² wa-in / yaraw / āyatan / yu 'ridū / wa-yaqūlū / sihrun / mustamir //

³ wa-kadhdhabū / wa-ttaba ʿū / ahwā ʾahum / wa-kullu / amrin / mustaqir //

¹ The Hour draws near. The moon is split in two.

² Whenever they see a sign, they turn away. They say, "Same old sorcery."

³ They disbelieve. They follow their own desires. Everything is recorded.

² (wa-in / yaraw / āyatan / yu 'riḍū /) wa-yaqūlū / siḥrun / mustamir //

³ (wa-kadhdhabū / wa-ttaba ʿū / ahwā ʾahum /) wa-kullu / amrin / mustaqir //

- 4 (wa-la-qad / jā 'ahum / mina / l-anbā 'i /) mā / fīhi / muzdajar //
- ⁵ (hikmatun / bālighatun /) fa-mā / tughni / l-nudhur //
- ² (Whenever they see a sign, they turn away.) They say, "Same old sorcery."
- ³ (They disbelieve. They follow their own desires.) Everything is recorded.
- ⁴ (Information has reached them,) [information] which [should have] acted as a deterrent,
- ⁵ (Far-reaching wisdom,) but warnings do not help.

Verses 6–8 then present as a straightforward *saj* 'unit of matched (8–8–8) accentual beats, enclosed by a circular band created by the repetition of the term *yawm* at the beginning of v. 6 and the end of v. 8.

- ⁶ fa-tawalla / 'anhum / yawma / yad 'u / l-dā 'i / ilā / shay 'in / nukur //
- ¹ khushshaʻan / abṣāruhum / yakhrujūna / mina / l-ajdāthi / ka-annahum / jarādun / muntashir //
- 8 muhṭi ʿīna / ilā / l-dā ʿi / yaqūlu / l-kāfirūna / hādhā / yawmun / ʿasir //
- ⁶ [Prophet] turn away from them. On the Day the Summoner will summon them to the horrific event,
- ⁷ Their eyes downcast, they will emerge from their graves like swarming locusts,
- ⁸ Rushing toward the summoner. The unbelievers will say, "This is a stern day."

A short Noah pericope runs from vv. 9–17, followed by a number of other punishment narratives, indicating a clear section break at the end of v. 8.

Table 6.12 reflects an understanding of Q 54:1–8 as consisting of three structural units. A single-verse declaration (v. 1) on a rhythm of four accentual beats is followed by a four-verse description of the rejection of truth by the disbelievers on a split rhythm of (4)–3–(3)–3–(4)–3–(2)–3 accentual beats. This leads into a three-verse example of longer saj on a perfectly matched rhythm of 8–8–8 accentual beats, characterized by a heavy degree of enjambment and a thematic shift to the topic of the behavior the disbelievers will exhibit on the Last Day.

A number of the more complex stylistic features that would appear to be typical of Qur'anic saj are therefore displayed in Q 54:1–8: the clear presence of consecutive, rhythmically distinct units, but also the suggestion that parts of a verse might be $masj\bar{u}$ and reside in a particular rhythm, while parts of the same verse are designed to be read as quasi-introductory phrases, straight prose sections that are under no obligation to rhyme or otherwise match their surroundings in any particular way. The idea that the opening verse of a surah, like the closing verse of a structural unit, might exist as a stand-alone saj ah should also by now be becoming familiar.

Table 6.12 Breaking O 54:1–8 into three subunits

I	4	¹ iqtarabati / l-sāʻatu / wa-nshaqqa / l-qamar //
II	(4) 3 (3) 3 (4) 3 (2) 3	² (wa-in / yaraw / āyatan / yuʿriḍū /) wa-yaqūlū / siḥrun / mustamir // ³ (wa-kadhdhabū / wa-ttabaʿū / ahwāʾahum /) wa-kullu / amrin / mustaqir // ⁴ (wa-la-qad / jāʾahum / mina / l-anbāʾi /) mā / fīhi / muzdajar // ⁵ (ḥikmatun / bālighatun /) fa-mā / tughni / l-nudhur //
III	8 8 8	⁶ fa-tawalla / ʻanhum / yawma / yadʻu / l-dāʻi / ilā / shay'in / nukur // ⁷ khushshaʻan / abṣāruhum / yakhrujūna / mina / l-ajdāthi / ka-annahum / jarādun / muntashir // ⁸ muhṭi ʿīna / ilā / l-dāʻi / yaqūlu / l-kāfirūna / hādhā / yawmun / ʿasir //

4 Explicitly Long Saj'

Ibn al-Athīr gives three Qur'anic examples of al-saj' al-ṭawīl, Q 11:9-10, Q 9:128-29, and Q 8:43-44. Ibn al-Athīr discusses these passages solely in terms of their accentual beats: the first passage counting in at 11-13 beats, as he points out, and the last at almost 20 accentual beats (19–19). It can be observed, however, that Q 11:9–10 also display parallel grammatical structures, matching in both their opening (wa-la-in adhaqnā ...) and their closing (innahu la-...) constructs

Similarly, the example of long saj 'provided by Ibn al-Athīr from Sūrat al-Anfāl (Q 8:43-44) exhibits near-identical openers (idh yurīkahum and wa-idh yurīkumūhum), overlapping uses of fī ... qalīlan constructs, overlapping medial references to God (wa-lākinna llāha sallama and li-yuqdiya llāhu amran kāna maf'ūlan), and overlapping divine clausulae at their close (innahu 'alīm bi-dhāti *l-sudūr* and *wa-ilā llāhi turja* '*u l-umūr*).

⁹ wa-la-in / adhaqnā / l-insāna / minnā / raḥmatan / thumma / naza 'nāhā / minhu / innahu / la-ya ʾūsun / kafūr //

¹⁰ wa-la-in / adhagnāhu / na mā a / ba da / darrā a / massathu / layaqūlanna / dhahaba / l-sayyi 'ātu / 'annī / innahu / la-farihun / fakhūr //

⁹ If We let man taste Our mercy and then withhold it from him, how desperate and ungrateful he becomes.

¹⁰ If We let him taste Our favor after hardship has touched him, he declares. "Misfortune has left me!" How exultant and boastful he becomes.

⁴³ idh / yurīkahumu / llāhu / fī / manāmika / qalīlan / wa-law / arākahum / kathīran / la-fashiltum / wa-la-tanāza 'tum / fi l-amri / walākinna / llāha / sallama / innahu / ʿalīmun / bi-dhāti / l-sudūr //

- ⁴⁴ wa-idh / yurīkumūhum / idhi / ltaqaytum / fī / aʻyunikum / qalīlan / wa-yuqallilukum / fī / aʻyunihim / li-yuqḍiya / llāhu / amran / kāna / mafʻūlan / wa-ilā / llāhi / turjaʻu / l-umūr //
- ⁴³ Remember when God showed them to you (sing.) as few in your sleep? If He had shown them to you (sing.) as many, surely you (pl.) would have lost heart and argued about the matter. But God saved (you). He knows what is in [people's] breasts.
- ⁴⁴ Remember when He showed them to you (pl.) as few in your eyes, when you met? And made you seem few in theirs? [God did this] in order to bring about the matter that had been ordained. Everything goes back to God.

The final example of long *saj* 'supplied by Ibn al-Athīr, Q 9:128–29, possesses structural prominence by dint of its location at the very close of Sūrat al-Tawbah. The near matched 14–15 accentual beats of these two verses suggest a small degree of parallelism when compared to the more erratic beat patterning of the preceding verses of the surah.

- ¹²⁸ laqad / jā 'akum / rasūlun / min / anfusikum / 'azīzun / 'alayhi / mā / 'anittum / ḥarīşun / 'alaykum / bi-l-mu 'minīna / ra 'ūfun / raḥīm // ¹²⁹ fa-in / tawallaw / fa-qul / ḥasbiya / llāhu / lā / ilāha / illā / huwa / 'alayhi / tawakkaltu / wa-huwa / rabbu / l- 'arshi / l- 'azīm //
- ¹²⁸ A Messenger has come to you from among yourselves. Your suffering distresses him. He is concerned for you. He is full of kindness and mercy toward the believers.
- ¹²⁹ If they turn away, say: "God is enough for me. There is no god but Him. I put my trust in Him. He is the Lord of the Mighty Throne."

By providing these three examples of Q 11:9-10, Q 9:128-29, and O 8:43–44. Ibn al-Athīr makes it clear that the lexical and grammatical parallelism of short saj 'can be transferred into longer rhythmical units; the saj '-like structure of O 11:9-10 and O 8:43-44 is clear. However, the integrity of Q 9:128–29 as a saj unit, like the example of Q 25:17–19 discussed above, is indicated primarily by its near-matched accentual beats and consistent endrhyme, rather than by any further grammatical or lexical correspondences. The position of this pair of verses at the very close of Sūrat al-Tawbah adds to them an air of structural distinction, and the rhythmical regularity of the opening of Sūrat al-Furqān adds to the matched accentual beats of O 25:17–19 a degree of significance, but the lack of an easily transferrable methodology in Ibn al-Athīr's designation of certain long Qur'anic verses as masjū', one that might be applied to the rest of the Our'an such that his statement inna akthara *l-qur'āni masjū* would ring as self-evidently true, renders his underlying logic for what might or might not be saj rather elusive. 44 Further investigation into what might have prompted Ibn al-Athīr to declare that the majority of the Qur'an is written in saj 'is clearly necessary. Part Two of this essay will therefore examine, on an individual basis and within their structural and thematic context, each of the verses Ibn al-Athīr cites in justification of this statement. This will moreover provide an opportunity for further exploration of the supplementary Qur'anic saj 'structures identified thus far.

Part Two. Examples Provided by Ibn al-Athīr Illustrating the Presence of Saj throughout the Entirety of the Our'an

Ibn al-Athīr mentions four passages as illustrative of the fact that saj' encompasses the whole Qur'an: Q 33:64-65, Q 20:1-8, Q 50:5-7, and Q 100:1-5. This last passage has already been discussed above as one of Ibn al-Athīr's cited examples of balanced saj'. The remaining three passages will be analyzed in detail below.

1 0 33:64-65

The very first cited example of Our'anic saj' provided by Ibn al-Athīr in his al-Mathal al-sā'ir is O 33:64-65.45

```
64 inna / llāha / la ʿana / l-kāfirīna / wa-a ʿadda / lahum /sa ʿīrā //
```

Ibn al-Athīr does not specify why these particular verses should be considered to be $masj\bar{u}$, but it can immediately be observed that they display: a consistent rhyme in CaCīrā; near-matching accentual beats of 7-8; a degree of enjambment, suggesting thematic coherence; and some parallelism in the final three words of v. 65 (walīyan wa-lā naṣīran; see the examples of Q 56:37 and O 77:5-6, discussed above). There is no grammatical or lexical parallelism between its adjacent verses, but the sai' unit O 33:64-65 is demarcated at its outset by a slight shift in end-rhyme (from $CvC\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}$ to $CvC\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}$), and at both its outset and its close by a variation in accentual beat patterning. The preceding v. 63 contains 15 accentual beats, and the following v. 66 consists of 10 accentual beats.

There is an argument for proposing Q 33:67-68 as another saj unit within this thematic passage, in addition to the following one, singled out by Ibn al-Athīr: sabīlā and kabīrā rhyme;46 these two verses display precisely matching accentual beats; and the repeated rabbanā construct at the outset of both verses adds a strong element of parallelism to the two statements.

⁶⁵ khālidīna / fīhā / abadan / lā / vajidūna / walīvan / wa-lā / nasīrā //

⁶⁴ God has rejected the unbelievers and prepared a blazing fire for them.

⁶⁵ There they will stay for ever, finding no friend and no supporter.

⁶⁷ wa-qālū / rabbanā / innā / aṭaʿnā / sādatanā / wa-kubarāʾanā / fa-adallūnā / l-sabīlā //

- ⁶⁸ rabbanā / ātihim / ḍi ʿfayni / mina / l-ʿadhābi / wa-lʿanhum / laʿnan / kabīrā //
- ⁶⁷ They will say, "Lord, we obeyed our masters and our chiefs, and they led us astray.
- ⁶⁸ Lord, give them a double punishment and curse them completely."

Q 33:66, meanwhile, features parallelism in its final cola, and can be read as two matched accentual beat units which emerge from an introductory phrase:

```
66 (yawma / tuqallabu / wujūhuhum / fi l-nāri / yaqūlūna / yā-laytanā /)
aṭaʿnā / llāha /
wa-aṭaʿnā / l-rasūlā //
```

⁶⁶ (On the Day when their faces are being turned about in the Fire, they will say, "If only)

We had obeyed God And we had obeyed the Messenger.

By extending the orthographic short -a vowel at the end of $ll\bar{a}ha$ to a long $-\bar{a}$ vowel, a shallow rhyme in $-C\bar{a}$ is created. A precedent for this was mentioned with reference to the rhyme word of Q 25:17, above, which logic dictates must be read $sab\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$.⁴⁷

A similar argument can be made for Q 33:63, whose $yudr\bar{t}ka$ can be extended to $yudr\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ to create internal rhyme within this verse, and the following structure:

```
63 (yas`aluka / l-nāsu / `ani / l-sā`ati / qul / innamā / `ilmuhā / `inda / llāhi /)
wa-mā / yudrīka /
la ʿalla / l-sā ʿata / takūnu / qarībā //
```

63 (People ask you about the Hour. Say: "God alone has knowledge of it.)
What will make you (sing.) understand?
The Hour may well be near."

There is rhythmic harmony between the two clauses *wa-mā yudrīka* and *laʿalla l-sāʿata takūnu qarībā*, which count in at 2–4 accentual beats, an example of bottom-heavy *sajʿ*. Both "What will make you (sing.) understand?" and "The Hour may well be near" can be read as capable of emerging, independently, from the same introductory phrase: "People ask you about the Hour. Say: 'God alone has knowledge of it.'" In terms of rhyme, meanwhile, *yudrīkā* and *qarībā* can be argued to rhyme in –*CīCā*. It is therefore possible to break the entirety of Q 33:63–68 into a straightforward sequence of thematically linked *sajʿ* units, comparable to the example of non-Qurʾanic *sajʿ* provided by Ibn al-Athīr, and similar to the examples of Q 93, Q 77:1–7, Q 74:1–7, and Q 53:1–18 investigated above.

A model for how such a subdivision of Q 33:63-68 might look is set out in Table 6.13. Two of the units thus identified are distinguished by their matched (or near-matched) accentual beats, with one showing further parallelism in its repeated rabbanā opener, and the other displaying an extended linear rhyme (lā yajidūna walīyan wa-lā naṣīran). The other two units both emerge from introductory phrases and subdivide internally in order to create two-stich sai' units within single Qur'anic verses. While the rhyme correspondence produced by these internal divisions is not precise, if we concede to the extension of a final -avowel into an $-\bar{a}$, the match between $vudr\bar{i}k\bar{a}$ and $qar\bar{i}b\bar{a}$, $all\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ and $al-ras\bar{u}l\bar{a}$, certainly seems close enough to pass muster. The accentual beats of the ensuing saj 'units follow the standard patterning of either bottom-heavy or matched saj '.

Table 6.13 Breaking O 33:63-68 into four subunits

I	(9) 2 4	⁶³ (yas`aluka / l-nāsu / ʿani / l-sāʿati / qul / innamā / ʿilmuhā / ʿinda / llāhi /) wa-mā / yudrīkā / laʿalla / l-sāʿata / takūnu / qarībā //
II	7 8	64 inna / llāha / laʿana / l-kāfirīna / wa-aʿadda / lahum / saʿīrā // 65 khālidīna / fīhā / abadan / lā / yajidūna / walīyan / wa-lā / naṣīrā //
III	(6) 2 2	⁶⁶ (yawma / tuqallabu / wujūhuhum / fi l-nāri / yaqūlūna / yā-laytanā /) aṭa ʿnā / llāhā / wa-aṭa ʿnā / l-rasūlā //
IV	8	67 wa-qālū / rabbanā / innā / aṭa ʿnā / sādatanā / wa-kubarā ʾanā / fa-aḍallūnā / l-sabīlā // 68 rabbanā / ātihim / ḍi ʿfayni / mina / l- ʿadhābi / wa-l ʿanhum / la ʿnan / kabīrā //

2 Q 20:1-8

Ibn al-Athīr's citation of the opening eight verses of Sūrat Tāhā as his next example of Qur'anic saj' is initially perplexing. Although this passage displays a consistent rhyme in $-C\bar{a}$, and is demarcated as a plausible textual unit by the presence of the story of Moses that opens, with a sharp drop in accentual beats, in v. 9 (wa-hal / atāka / hadīthu / mūsā //), there is no obvious pattern to its own accentual beats. Nor do these initial eight verses of Sūrat Tāhā exhibit any consistent grammatical parallelism. As a consequence, the usual indications of the presence of a passage of Qur'anic saj 'are not immediately apparent. If Q 20:1–8 is broken into subunits, however, four clear saj 'units emerge. After the initial proclamation of tāhā (subunit I), subunit II (vv. 2-5) consists of four verses of relatively similar accentual length (5-4-6-4). Subunit III (v. 6) then follows with an initial lahu upon which four parallel clauses depend, with matched $m\bar{a}$ openers and near-matched identical beats (2-2-2-3). Finally, vv. 7-8 again display very similar accentual lengths: seven then eight beats, making vv. 7-8 a saj 'unit defined both by rhyme and by rhythm (subunit IV).

This is not the first instance within this essay where repeated $m\bar{a}$ constructs have been argued to embellish saj. In Sūrat al-Najm (Q 53), for example, vv. 2–3, 10–11, and 16–17 all exhibit repeated $m\bar{a}$ constructs, here a combination of the negative use of $m\bar{a}$ (in vv. 2, 3, 11, and 17) and the pronominal use of $m\bar{a}$ (in vv. 10, 11, and 16).

```
² mā ḍalla ṣāḥibukum wa-mā ghawā
```

```
10 fa-awḥā ilā ʿabdihi mā awḥā
```

```
<sup>16</sup> idh yaghshā l-sidrata mā yaghshā
```

Within the above discussion of Sūrat al-Najm, however, no argument was made for its $m\bar{a}$ s to be placed in structural parallel. While it would have been possible, for example, to organize Q 53:2–3 such that its three $m\bar{a}$ s were situated one below the other, the ensuing saj 'ahs would have possessed no rhythmical integrity and displayed no end-rhyme.

```
<sup>2</sup> mā / ḍalla / ṣāḥibukum /
wa-mā / ghawā //
<sup>3</sup> wa-mā / yanṭiqu / ʿani / l-hawā //
```

He is not deluded.

It was strongly felt that a textual unit of 3-2-4 accentual beats terminating in $s\bar{a}hibukum/ghaw\bar{a}/l-haw\bar{a}$ could not be described as saj (although a linear statement $m\bar{a}$ dalla $s\bar{a}hibukum$ $wa-m\bar{a}$ $ghaw\bar{a}$ $wa-m\bar{a}$ yantiqu 'ani l-haw \bar{a} can nonetheless be described as $masj\bar{u}$ ').

The situation in Sūrat Ṭāhā is different. In Q 20:6, all of the $m\bar{a}s$ are used pronominally (i.e., with the meaning "what"). If they are arranged in parallel, three of the ensuing saj 'ahs contain exactly two accentual beats each, with the fourth

³ wa-mā yanṭiqu ʿani l-hawā

² Your companion has not strayed. He is not deluded.

³ He does not speak from [his own] desire.

¹¹ mā kadhaba l-fu ʾādu mā ra ʾā

¹⁰ He revealed to His servant what He revealed.

¹¹ His own heart did not distort what he saw.

¹⁷ mā zāgha l-baṣaru wa-mā ṭaghā

¹⁶ When the tree was somehow covered,

¹⁷ His sight never wavered, nor was it too bold.

² Your companion has not strayed.

³ He does not speak from [his own] desire.

containing three accentual beats. It is of course possible to arrange this verse in linear fashion, such that it is the repeated \bar{a} vowels ($m\bar{a}$, $sam\bar{a}w\bar{a}t$, $m\bar{a}$, $m\bar{a}$, baynahumā, mā, tharā) that create resonance, and with it a sense of rhyme. The sheer force of the matched accentual beats, however, seems too blatant to be ignored. Consequently, I have acknowledged rhythm in the layout of Q 20:1-8 suggested in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14 Breaking Q 20:1–8 into four subunits

Ι	1	¹ ṭāhā //
II	5 4 6 4	² mā / anzalnā / ʿalayka / l-qurʾāna / li-tashqā // ³ illā / tadhkiratan / li-man / yakhshā // ⁴ tanzīlan / mimman / khalaqa / l-arḍa / wa-l-samāwāti / l-ʿulā // ⁵ al-raḥmānu / ʿalā / l-ʿarshi / stawā //
III	(1) 2 2 2 3	⁶ (lahu /) mā / fi-l-samāwāti / wa-mā / fi-l-arḍi / wa-mā / baynahumā / wa-mā / taḥta / l-tharā //
IV	7 8	⁷ wa-in / tajhar / bi-l-qawli / fa-innahu / yaʻlamu / l-sirra / wa-akhfā // ⁸ allāhu / lā / ilāha / illā / huwa / lahu / l-asmā'u / l-ḥusnā //

3 Q 50:5-7

Ibn al-Athīr alludes to the 9–12–11 accentual beat Q 50:5–7 as a discrete unit.

While the repeated \bar{a} vowels of banaynāhā, zayyannāhā, mā lahā, madadnāhā, algaynā fīhā, and anbatnā fīhā create a degree of internal rhyme within vv. 6–7, the nine-beat v. 5 would appear to combine with the eleven-beat v. 2 in order to form an *inclusio* embellishing the surah's opening paragraph.⁴⁸

⁵ bal / kadhdhabū / bi-l-ḥaqqi / lammā / jā'ahum / fa-hum / fī / amrin / marīi //

⁶ a-fa-lam / yanzurū / ilā / l-samā'i / fawqahum / kayfa / banaynāhā / wazavvannāhā / wa-mā / lahā / min / furūj //

⁷ wa-l-arda / madadnāhā / wa-alqaynā / fīhā / rawāsiya / wa-anbatnā / fīhā / min / kulli / zawjin / bahīj //

⁵ But they deny the truth when it comes to them. They are in a state of confusion.

⁶ Do they not see the sky above them? How We have built and adorned it. with no rifts in it?

⁷ How We spread out the earth and put solid mountains on it? How We caused every kind of joyous plant to grow in it?

- ² bal / ʿajibū / an / jā ʾahum / mundhirun / minhum / fa-qāla / l-kāfirūna / hādhā / shay ʾun / ʿajīb //
- ² But they are amazed that a warner has come from among them. The unbelievers say, "How strange!" ...
- ⁵ bal / kadhdhabū / bi-l-ḥaqqi / lammā / jāʾahum / fa-hum / fī / amrin / marīj //
- ⁵ But they deny the truth when it comes to them. They are in a state of confusion.

Verses 4–5, meanwhile, form a perfectly matched unit in terms of their accentual beats.

- ⁴ qad / ʻalimnā / mā / tanquṣu / l-arḍu / minhum / wa- ʻindanā / kitābun / ḥafīz //
 ⁵ bal / kadhdhabū / bi-l-ḥaqqi / lammā / jā ʾahum / fa-hum / fī / amrin / marīj //
- ⁴ We know very well what the earth takes away from them. We keep a comprehensive record.
- ⁵ But they deny the truth when it comes to them. They are in a state of confusion.

Ibn al-Athīr's suggestion that v. 5 might form the first verse of a tripartite *saj* 'unit that runs vv. 5–7 makes little apparent sense.

Sūrat Qāf would in fact appear to divide along the following lines. A first section, vv. 1-14, is marked as a discrete unit by the Leitwort kadhdhaba, which occurs repeatedly within these fourteen verses (at vv. 5, 12, and 14) and not elsewhere in the surah. This term seals the first paragraph of the introduction (vv. 1-5) and binds the extremities of its last paragraph (vv. 12-14). Meanwhile, explicit references to the Day (yawm, at vv. 20, 22, 30, 34, 38, 41, 42, and 44) and to Creation (kh-l-q, at vv. 15, 16, and 38) occupy the surah's central section (vv. 15–35) and its tail (vv. 36–45). The term wa 'īd, however, which accrues structural prominence via its presence as the final word of the surah, connects the final verse of the introduction (vv. 1–14) with the central section (thus the further occurrences at vv. 20 and 28) and the tail of the surah. 49 The second paragraph of the introduction and the first paragraph of the central section are then marked by an initial a-fa- (vv. 6 and 15), while an all-encompassing ring is created by the repetition of the term qur'ān in the surah's first and final verses (vv. 1 and 45).⁵⁰ Within this structure, the following breakdown of vv. 1–14 seems plausible. An introductory unit (vv. 1-5) is bordered by repeated initial bal in vv. 2 and 5, and sealed by the first declaration of denial (bal kadhdhabū bi-l-hagg) in v. 5. A second unit then runs vv. 6-11. This opens a-fa- (cf. v. 15) and comprises a thematically linked catalogue of God's acts of creation. A third unit, vv. 12-14, is bordered by the second and third declarations of denial

(kadhdhabat qablahum ... kullun kadhdhaba l-rusul), and by the suggestion of a ring in the partial reversal of qawmu nūḥin wa-aṣḥābu rass (v. 12) into asḥābu l-aykati wa-qawmu tubba' (v. 14). The final word of the introduction (wa'īd) reoccurs as the final word of the surah.

This subdivision of vv. 1–14 into three units is thematically and structurally viable, and yet the simultaneous presence of discrete *saj* 'units running vv. 1–5, 6–11, and 12–14 is by no means clear cut. A consistent rhyme in CvCīC/CvCūC unites the surah as a whole, with only minor variations occasionally extending the rhyme within that. In terms of its rhythm, the introduction exhibits matched (or near-matched) accentual beats in vv. 4–5 (subunit I) and again in vv. 6–7 (subunit II), but also in vv. 11–12 (spanning subunits II and III). Outside of the potential for an echo in the transformation of v. 7's *min kulli zawjin bahīj* into v. 8's *li-kulli 'abdin munīb*, there is no evident grammatical parallelism, nor do any of the elements of vv. 1–14 emerge from an introductory phrase, both features that categorized parts of Q 33:63–68 and Q 20:1–8 as discrete *saj* 'units. Indeed, had Ibn al-Athīr not identified Q 50:5–7 as *masjū* ', there would be no apparent reason for investigating this passage in such terms.

The presence of short verses interspersed among the long, however, is of interest. Above, it was suggested that parts of Q 69:31 and Q 19:90 might reside in some sort of rhythmic seclusion within the larger saj units Q 69:30–31 and Q 19:88–92, operating in the same way as introductory phrases but giving rise to single cola, not the multiple rhyming saj ahs that typically emerge from introductory phrases within saj; a similar structure was posited for the opening clauses of Q 54:2–5. If the initial parts of Q 50:2–5 are removed from the rhythmic texture of unit I (vv. 1–5), a 3–3–3–4 saj unit rhyming in CvCiC emerges. The opening verse of the surah then sits alongside the closing comments to each verse in contrapuntal harmony to the remainder of this saj unit. That is to say: although the two parts of each verse operate as separate voices, rhythmically independent of one another, their sense is nonetheless dependent upon what happens when the two voices combine.

```
¹ qāf / wa-l-qurʾāni / l-majīd //
² (bal / ʿajibū / an / jāʾahum / mundhirun / minhum / fa-qāla / l-kāfirūna /)
hādhā / shayʾun / ʿajīb //
³ (a-idhā / mitnā / wa-kunnā / turāban /)
dhālika / raj ʿun / ba ʿīd //
⁴ (qad / ʿalimnā / mā / tanquṣu / l-arḍu / minhum /)
wa- ʿindanā / kitābun / ḥafīz //
⁵ (bal / kadhdhabū / bi-l-ḥaqqi / lammā / jāʾahum /)
fa-hum / fī / amrin / marīj //
```

¹ Oāf! By the glorious Our'an!

² (But they are amazed that a warner has come from among them. The unbelievers say,)

[&]quot;How strange.

```
<sup>3</sup> (To come back [to life] after we have died and become dust?)
That is too far-fetched."
<sup>4</sup> (We know very well what the earth takes away from them.)
We keep a comprehensive record.
<sup>5</sup> (But they deny the truth when it comes to them.)
They are in a state of confusion.
```

The strong rhythmical balance of vv. 6–7, meanwhile, terminating in *furūj* and *bahīj*, sits in tension with two further structural elements. The first of these is the string of repeated \bar{a} vowels mentioned above, which are encompassed within the end-rhyme and could plausibly be viewed as a $masj\bar{u}$ inclusion within this pair of verses. The second, however, as we shall see below, is the presence of a degree of both grammatical and rhythmical parallelism at the close of vv. 7 and 8, which precludes the demarcation of the entirety of vv. 6-7 as a discrete saj unit ending in bahīj. There are three voices at play here, and it is difficult to draw clean lines between them.

Entirely speculatively, then, the best solution would appear to be one in which unit II of Sūrat Qāf is defined by the repeated \bar{a} vowels of vv. 6–7. This hypothetical unit would terminate in an extended rawāsiyā in the middle of v. 7, creating a 3-2-3 unit, rhyming in $-\bar{a}$, in which both the opening phrase and the central description of the sky are removed from the rhythmic structure because, even though they do not protrude rhythmically, the contrasting end-rhyme excludes them from a saj unit which centers on repeated \bar{a} vowels.⁵¹

```
<sup>6</sup> (a-fa-lam / yanzurū / ilā / l-samā ʾi / fawqahum /)
kayfa / banaynāhā / wa-zayyannāhā /
(wa-mā / lahā / min / furūj //)
<sup>7</sup> wa-l-arda / madadnāhā /
wa-algaynā / fīhā / rawāsiyā /
<sup>6</sup> (Do they not see the sky above them?)
How We have built and adorned it,
(Without any rifts?)
<sup>7</sup> How We spread out the earth
And put solid mountains on it?
```

The benefit of this speculative unit is twofold. A focus on the repeated \bar{a} vowels provides a degree of rationalization for why Ibn al-Athīr might have highlighted Q 50:6–7 as illustrative of the omnipresence of saj in the Qur'an in the first place. Dividing v. 7 into two units, meanwhile, allows the analyst to observe the close parallelism between the two verse-final closers of vv. 7 and 8 (min kulli zawjin bahīj and li-kulli 'abdin munīb'). If v. 7 is split at this juncture, a 5–6 beat saj 'unit can be created out of the second part of v. 7 and the entirety of v. 8.

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<sup>7</sup> ... wa-anbatnā / fīhā / min / kulli / zawjin / bahīj //
```

⁸ tabsiratan / wa-dhikrā / li-kulli / 'abdin / munīb //

- ⁷ ... How We caused every kind of joyous plant to grow in it
- ⁸ As a lesson and reminder for every servant who turns [to God].

The ten accentual beats of v. 9 can then be divided into two five-beat units. the first of which exists in phonetic isolation from the prevailing rhyme scheme. despite the exact precision of its matched accentual beats. Verse 11 is heavily enjambed, in its opening, with v. 10, and the relative rhythmical consistency of its subsequent cola suggests that it might reside in the same structural unit as vv. 9-10.

```
9 (wa-nazzalnā / mina / l-samā 'i / mā 'an / mubārakan /)
fa-anbatnā / bihi / jannātin / wa-habba / l-hasīd //
<sup>10</sup> wa-l-nakhla / bāsigātin / lahā / tal ʿun / nadīd //
11 (rizgan / li-l- 'ibādi /)
wa-ahyaynā / bihi / baldatan / maytan / kadhālika / l-khurūj //
```

⁹ (How We sent blessed water down from the sky,)

Grew gardens with it, and the harvest grain,

¹⁰ Tall date palms, laden with clusters of dates,

¹¹ (As a provision for everyone.)

How We give new life with it to a land that is dead. This is what the resurrection is like.

Verses 12–14, meanwhile, listing previous generations of disbelievers, form a clear thematic unit, which can be divided into a rhyming block of rhythmically matched cola out of which only one sai'ah (wa-ashābu l-avkati wa-gawmu tubba'in) must needs be removed from the phonetic framework in order to respect its lack of a rhyming end-word to match the rest of the unit.

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<sup>12</sup> kadhdhabat / qablahum / qawmu / nūḥ /
wa-ashābu / l-rassi / wa-thamūd //
13 wa- ʿādun / wa-fir ʿawnu / wa-ikhwānu / lūt //
<sup>14</sup> (wa-ashābu / l-aykati / wa-qawmu / tubba 'in /)
kullun / kadhdhaba / l-rusula / fa-haqqa / wa 'īd //
```

¹² The people of Noah disbelieved long before these [people],

As did the people of Rass and Thamud,

¹³ 'Ād and Pharaoh and the brothers of Lot,

¹⁴ (The forest-dwellers and the people of Tubba'.)

All of these people disbelieved their messengers, and My warning was realized.

A division of O 50:1–14 into the six sai units described above is defensible. After all, there are a number of indications that a certain degree of flexibility is appropriate in the maintenance of saj' structures: the permitted presence of introductory phrases, for instance, that reside outside of the pervading accentual beat rhythm of their immediate environment: the acknowledged existence of the quatrain form, whereby the third line of a four-line saj 'unit does not rhyme with its fellows; al-Bāqillānī's understanding of the term saj' as something that is used in order to describe internally rhyming passages which exist outside of the dominant end-rhyme of their surroundings; and al-Qalqashandī's acknowledgment of this feature as saj 'an fī saj '. There is a certain awkwardness to the frequency with which parts of each saj' unit within Q 50:1-14 must needs be removed from the overall rhythmic or phonetic texture in order to create blocks in which rhythmically matched, rhyming saj 'ahs are placed one below the other. The difficulty here may simply, however, be one of formatting and orthography, and the prospect of some sort of a stylistic stepping stone between the "straight" saj' of Q 93 and the more complicated patterns of Q 55, where Qur'anic sentences are frequently punctuated mid-thought process by a repeated refrain, is undeniably attractive. A six-unit Q 50:1-14 has, therefore, been reflected in Table 6.15 below.

Table 6.15 Breaking Q 50:1-14 into six subunits

Ι	3 (8) 3 (4) 3 (6) 3 (5) 4	¹ qāf/wa-l-qur'āni / l-majīd // ² (bal / ʿajibū / an / jā ʾahum / mundhirun / minhum / fa-qāla / l-kāfirūna /) hādhā / shay ʾun / ʿajīb // ³ (a-idhā / mitnā / wa-kunnā / turāban /) dhālika / raj ʿun / ba ʿīd // ⁴ (qad / ʿalimnā / mā / tanquṣu / l-arḍu / minhum /) wa- ʿindanā / kitābun / ḥafīz // ⁵ (bal / kadhdhabū / bi-l-ḥaqqi / lammā / jā ʾahum /) fa-hum / fī / amrin / marīj //	
II	(5) 3 (4) 2 3	⁶ (a-fa-lam / yanzurū / ilā / l-samā ʾi / fawqahum /) kayfa / banaynāhā / wa-zayyannāhā / (wa-mā / lahā / min / furūj //) ⁷ wa-l-arḍa / madadnāhā / wa-alqaynā / fīhā / rawāsiyā /	
III	6 5	wa-anbatnā / fīhā / min / kulli / zawjin / bahīj // ⁸ tabṣiratan / wa-dhikrā / li-kulli / ˈabdin / munīb //	
IV	(5) 9 (wa-nazzalnā / mina / l-samā ' / mā 'an / mubārakan /) 5 fa-anbatnā / bihi / jannātin / wa-ḥabba / l-ḥaṣīd // 5 10 wa-l-nakhla / bāsiqātin / lahā / ṭal 'un / naḍīd // (3) 11 (rizqan / li-l- 'ibādi /) 6 wa-aḥyaynā / bihi / baldatan / maytan / kadhālika / l-khurūj //		
VI	4 12 kadhdhabat / qablahum / qawmu / nūḥ /		

Part Three. Conclusions

The issue of how saj 'patterns structure lengthy passages of Qur'anic discourse is clearly complex, and far from straightforward to define. While O 93 divided neatly into a string of consecutive saj' units distinguished by their matched rhyme, their matched rhythm, and, frequently, their matched grammatical parallelism, the same was not the case for such contrasting cases as Q 25:15–16, whose saj '-integrity required the splitting of both its constituent verses into two stichs, for Q 19:93-97, whose rhythmical balance was maintained by the combining of two Qur'anic verses into one stich, or for the many examples of rhythmically cohesive Our'anic passages cited above, where one or more of the conventional boundaries of rhyme, rhythm, and parallelism would appear to have been stretched, without breaking the borders of what constitutes saj '.

The remarks above provided a close analysis of all the discrete Our'anic passages that Ibn al-Athīr cites in illustration of the omnipresence of saj in the Our'an. These cited passages were viewed within their wider Our'anic context, a context that was sometimes structurally and sometimes thematically defined. A number of Qur'anic structures plainly informed by saj' immediately became apparent. These far outstripped the basic model of simple strings of consecutively matched rhythmical units (exemplified by O 93 and O 100) traditionally understood to constitute Our'anic sai'. It was moreover argued that it is possible for parts of a Qur'anic verse to be $masj\bar{u}$ to the exclusion of others.

It is worth supplying a preliminary catalogue of these suggested supplementary saj structures, with representative examples, as a basis for future research. The following list is by no means intended to be either rigid or exhaustive. The idea that Qur'anic saj' might operate within a deliberate give and take of three distinct parameters—end-rhyme, accentual beat patterning, and grammatical parallelism—proved to be a fruitful one, and the question of whether to allow rhyme, rhythm, or grammatical parallelism to take precedence in the depiction of Qur'anic saj 'was one that this essay confronted at regular junctures.

The fifteen principal categories of Qur'anic saj' forms identified in the course of this essay can be classified as follows.

- 1 Group One: simple strings of consecutive saj ahs bound by contrasting rhythms, rhymes, and structural parallelisms
 - **e.g.**, **Q 93**:1–2, 3–5, 6–8, 9–11, **Q 100**:1–3 and 4–5, **Q 56**:27–31 and 39–40, **Q** 77:1–2 and 3–4, **Q** 74:2–5, **Q** 53:1–4, 5–8, 9–11, 12–13, 14–15, 16–17, and 18; cf. Q 11:9-10 and Q 8:43-44.
- 2 Group Two: single saj'ah closers to saj' clusters e.g., Q 93:11, Q 100:11, Q 25:14, Q 19:92 and 98c, Q 56:34 and 38, O 77:7, and O 53:18.
- 3 Group Three: single saj 'ah openers to saj 'clusters **e.g., Q 25**:11, **Q 56**:27 and 32, and **Q 54**:1; cf. Q 53:1 and Q 50:1.

- 4 Group Four: complex *saj* 'units whose overall rhythmical integrity is maintained by the presence of an introductory phrase e.g., Q 100:9–10, Q 25:15–16, Q 19:90, Q 56:28–31 and 35–37, Q 74:1–5, Q 53:1–4, Q 33:63, 66, and 67, and Q 20:6.
- 5 Group Five: single saj 'ahs whose overall rhythmical integrity is maintained by the presence of an introductory phrase e.g., Q 69:31 within the unit Q 69:30–31, Q 19:90 within the unit Q 19:90–91, Q 54:2, 3, 4, and 5 within the unit Q 54:2–5, Q 50: 2, 3, 4, and 5 within the unit Q 50:1–5, Q 50:6 within the unit Q 50:6–7, Q 50:9 and 11 within the unit Q 50:9–11, and Q 50:14 within the unit Q 50:12–14.
- 6 Group Six: *saj* 'units whose rhythmical integrity is maintained via the splitting or combining of Qur'anic verses e.g., Q 25:15–16, Q 19:94–95 within the unit 93–97, and 98, Q 56:33, Q 53:1–3, Q 33:63 and 66, Q 20:6, Q 50:6–7 and 12–14.
- 7 Group Seven: saj units whose borders are further marked by the presence of a circular lexical band e.g., wu ida/wa dan in Q 25:15 and 16, waladā in Q 19:88, 91, and 92, aṣḥābu l-yamīn in Q 56:27 and 38, bal ... bal ... in Q 50:2 and 5, kadhdhabat ... khadhdhaba ... in Q 50:12 and 14.
- 8 Group Eight: saj' units whose borders are reinforced by a string of adjacent rhyming words at their close e.g., Q 56:36-37, Q 77:5-6, and Q 33:65.
- 9 Group Nine: stepped saj units (AAB or ABBC) e.g., Q 25:11–14, Q 19:88–92 and 98, and Q 56:35–38.
- 10 Group Ten: phonetic inclusions into a surrounding rhyme pattern e.g., Q 3:48–49, Q 9:24, Q 16:27, and Q 19:4 and 98.
- 11 Group Eleven: rhythmical inclusions into a surrounding accentual beat pattern e.g., Q 100:9–10 within the unit Q 100:6–8 and 11, and Q 25:12–13 within the unit Q 25:11–14.
- 12 Group Twelve: grammatical inclusions into a surrounding phonetic and rhythmical pattern e.g., Q 100:9-10 within the unit Q 100:6-8 and 11, Q 25:12-13 within the
- unit Q 25:11-14, and Q 56:33 within the unit Q 56:32-34.
 13 Group Thirteen: thematic inclusions marked by contrasting rhyme, rhythm, or grammatical pattern e.g., Q 53:9-11 and 14-15.
- 14 Group Fourteen: longer saj '(eight beats per saj 'ah or more) e.g., Q 25:17-19, Q 19:93-97, Q 54:6-8, Q 11:9-10, Q 9:128-129, Q 8:43-44, and Q 3:67-68.
- 15 Group Fifteen: units in which rhythmic or grammatical parallelism is maintained at the expense of rhyme e.g., Q 20:6 (and see Q 50:9-10 and 13-14).

It is to be hoped that these categories will serve as a useful starting point from which to attempt a rationalization of the shifting rhythms and emphases of complex Qur'anic structural units. A deeper understanding of the Qur'an's sai'informed structures, and how these are modified as the Qur'an traverses its variety of genres, represents a necessary, and long overdue, step in progressing the prosodic analysis of the Qur'anic text.

Notes

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- 1 Stewart largely extrapolates his information from the manuals of rhetoric provided by the medieval Islamic tradition, such scholars as Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), Diyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239), and Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Oalgashandī (d. 821/1418). See Devin J. Stewart, "Saj' in the Our'ān: Prosody and Structure," Journal of Arabic Literature 21 (1990), and Devin J. Stewart, art. "Rhymed Prose," in Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2001-2006).
- 2 As will be illustrated in Table 6.2, these are demarcated by shifts in rhyme, rhythm, or the presence of what Stewart terms an "introductory phrase," a word or series of words introducing the beginning of a new saj' unit, whose ensuing clauses are dependent upon the introductory phrase for sense, but whose matched accentual beats are counted independently of the accentual beats of the introductory phrase itself.
- 3 For a description of this work, and a useful introduction to the Arabic rhetorical tradition, see Geert van Gelder, Beyond the Line. Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), 146–52 and passim.
- 4 Nasr Allāh b. Muhammad Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa-l-shā'ir, ed. Ahmad al-Hūfī and Badawī Tabānah, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār Nahdat Misr, n.d.), vol. 1, 214.
- 5 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā'ir, vol. 1, 214. Ibn al-Athīr defines saj' relatively broadly, as any speech in which the form of individual words and phrases was chosen in order to complement the form of the individual words and phrases that preceded them. Nonetheless, Ibn al-Athīr stresses that form, in true saj, is always held subservient to meaning. He also insists that the meaning of each word in a masjū 'pair must convey a sense distinct from that of its partner. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā'ir, vol. 1, 215.
- 6 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, vol. 1, 218.
- 7 For the importance of introductory phrases, see Stewart, "Saj' in the Qur'ān"; Stewart, "Rhymed Prose"; and Devin J. Stewart, "Divine Epithets and the Dibacchius: Clausulae and Qur'anic Rhythm," Journal of Qur'anic Studies 15, no. 2 (2013).
- 8 Rhyme in Qur'anic Arabic is a complex interplay of matching morphological form (wazn) and true rhyme (qāfiyah). For further explanation, see Marianna Klar, "Text-Critical Approaches to Sura Structure: Combining Synchronicity with Diachronicity

- in Sūrat al-Baqara. Part One," Journal of Qur'anic Studies 19, no. 1 (2017), 17–19; Stewart, "Saj' in the Our'ān"; and idem, "Rhymed Prose."
- 9 I am assuming here that *saj* 'passages should be read in accordance with *tajwīd* and observing *taskīn*. For pausal forms in Standard Arabic, see Robert D. Hoberman, art. "Pausal Forms," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh et al., 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2005–2009). See also the discussion of Qur'anic *saj* 'in Stewart, "*Saj* 'in the Qur'ān," 109–10.

It should be noted that is also possible to break unit II into a four-part saj unit of two accentual beats, rhyming in $-C\bar{a}$, thus:

```
ta`tallu / ṭawrā //
wa-taṣiḥḥu / aṭwārā //
wa-taltāthu / marratā //
wa-tastaqillu / mirārā //
```

The hopscotch parallelism of a four-part, two-beat unit II, however, strikes me as less likely than the more sustained parallelism of the two-part, four-beat unit II proposed above. For an example of a Qur'anic passage rhyming solely in $-C\bar{a}$ see the case of Q 96:6–14. While the majority of the $f\bar{a}silahs$ therein exhibit a deeper level of morphological correspondence, terminating in $-CvCC\bar{a}$, Q 96:11 merely ends with the word $hud\bar{a}$, and Q 96:14 with the word $yar\bar{a}$. Across its entirety, therefore, the Qur'anic passage rhymes only in $-C\bar{a}$. The same can be observed of Q 18 (see note 20 below), and of one of the examples of non-Qur'anic saj provided by Devin Stewart (Chapter 8, this volume). See the text of the oath of Musaylimah in Stewart, "Introductory Oaths" (p. 286).

- 10 Stewart, "Saj' in the Our'ān," 127.
- 11 See Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā'ir, vol. 1, 255–58.
- 12 See Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā'ir, vol. 1, 210.
- 13 Stewart, "Saj in the Qurān," 122.
- 14 Stewart, "Saj' in the Qur'ān," 126. The possible breaking of Q 112:3 at yalid is reflected in Anton Spitaler, Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935), 73, who provides countless examples of junctures where additional breaks at rhyme divisions are posited by the tradition. See, for example, the break recorded at alīm in Q 2:10, at khā 'ifīn in Q 2:114, or at yunfiqūn in Q 2:219. Further, unique verse divisions at rhyme junctures are recorded by François Déroche in his study of early Qur'an manuscripts. See the examples of Q 4:34 (at sabīlā) and 79 (at rasūlā), Q 9:115 (at mā yattaqūn), and Q 14:27 (at zālimīn) in François Déroche, La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam: le codex Parisino-petropolitanus (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- 15 See, for example, the combination of penultimate long and short vowels in Q 86:1-12.
- 16 These readings have been reflected in Table 6.5. On this matter, see also Devin J. Stewart, "Poetic License in the Qur'an: Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-Ḥanafī's Ihkām al-rāy fī ahkām al-āy," Journal of Qur'anic Studies 11, no. 1 (2009). On p. 34, Stewart provides the following translation of Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-Ḥanafī's ninth category out of forty-odd "features" that provide munāsabah ("accordance") at the end of Qur'anic verses:

- 17 It would appear to make sense to ignore verse-final pausal forms where these occur in the middle of a sai ah. This decision has been reflected in the transliterated passage above
- 18 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā'ir, vol. 1, 256. It should be noted that Ibn al-Athīr restricts this to the example of three-part saj units wherein two short verses are followed by a substantially longer verse, citing a hypothetical pair of four-beat verses, which are then followed by a ten- or eleven-beat verse (with a natural division at the four-beat mark) without a significant breach of i'tidāl ("balance"). Ibn al-Athīr does not provide any references to specific Qur'anic verses in illustration of this.
- 19 While this was also the case for O 100:6–8, as demonstrated above, following on from Ibn al-Athīr's saj 'unit of Q 100:1-5, it is very difficult to envisage Q 19:91-92 as a rhythmical unit in its own right. This will become apparent below.
- 20 Apart from an isolated CvCāCā at O 18:103, Sūrat al-Kahf rhymes in a combination of -CCā (vv. 13, 18, 23, 25, 32, 44, 65-83, 86-91, 93-101, and 104-5) and -CvCā (vv. 1–12, 14–15, 17, 19–22, 24, 26–31, 33–43, 45–64, 84–85, 92, 102, and 106–10) fāsilahs. For Our'anic passages rhyming in CvCvC, see, e.g., Q 54; for CvCC, see, e.g., O 89:1-5.
- 21 Stewart argues as follows:

The verse-final words take the form fa'l, the first pair ending in -C', while the second pair ends in -Cl. In both cases, the intended pronunciation probably required a vowel, -i-, -e-, or -o-, in between the consonants—raji', şadi', faşil, hazil—as in the common variant katif for kitf "shoulder" (or modern Lebanese Arabic *filim* "movie" vs. Egyptian Arabic *film*).

See below (Stewart, Chapter 8, p. 298).

- 22 For al-Bāqillānī, see again van Gelder, Beyond the Line, 100–7 and passim.
- 23 Although al-Bāqillānī defines saj as continuous span of speech on a single meter (muwālāti l-kalam 'alā wazn wāhid) and emphasizes that saj 'must exhibit "balance" (i'tidāl), very few of the examples of Qur'anic saj that he provides display the even rhythm he cites as fundamental to the presence of good saj'. See al-Bāqillānī, I'jāz, vol. 2, 57, 58.
- 24 For examples of one-word verses in the Qur'an, see Q 55:1 (al-rahmān) and 64 (mudhāmmatān), Q 93:1 (wa-l-duhā'), and the instances where isolated letters are counted as one-word verses, phonetically independent from the verses that follow them (the first verses of Q 2-3, Q 7, Q 19-20, Q 26, Q 28-32, Q 36, and Q 40-46). Note that, in the latter cases this is in marked contrast to other occasions (Q 10, O 11–15, O 27, O 38, O 50, and O 68) where isolated letters are incorporated into the statements that follow them.
- 25 See Abū l- Abbās Ahmad al-Qalqashandī, Kitāb Subh al-a shā ("The Dawn of the Blind"), 14 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, 1922), vol. 2, 281.
- 26 For this figure, see van Gelder, Beyond the Line, 153–58 and passim.
- 27 See Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad al-Qazwīnī, al-Īdāh fī 'ulūm al-balaghāh, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2003), 297. As Stewart has pointed out to me, it is possible that the printed edition of $al-\bar{l}d\bar{a}h$ records a mistake: Q 69:30–32 would appear to be a clear example of bottom-heavy saj, in which v. 32 has seven accentual beats, compared to the 2-3 accentual beats of vv. 30 and 31. Stewart provides in his essay for the present volume (Chapter 8) an example of non-Qur'anic saj' (wa-l-shafaqi / wa-l-ghasaq // wa-l-falaqi / idhā / ttasaq // inna / mā / anba'tuka / bihi / la-ḥaq(q) //), where rhythm would clearly seem to encourage rhyming terms to coexist unperturbed within one and the same saj ah (p. 301). The printed edition of $al-\bar{l}d\bar{a}h$ is, however, clear in its insistence that it is only vv. 30–31 that are being discussed here. This statement is moreover reflected in the earlier edition of al-Qazwīnī's *Īdāḥ* referenced by Stewart, "Saj' in the Qur'ān," 26 (which utilizes Muhammad 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Khafajī's 1949 edition of the $\bar{I}d\bar{a}h$). It should

- also be noted that the fact that a *saj 'ah* can consist of a single term is similarly posited by al-Bāqillānī with reference to Q 19:4, discussed above. See further the discussion in n. 24.
- 28 It should be noted, however, that both of the final cola of v. 98 are dependent on the same initial interrogatory *hal*. Indeed, if the *hal* is removed as an introductory phrase, these two final cola become precisely matched at four accentual beats each. The decision was nonetheless taken to ignore both the grammatical dependency and the secondary rhythmical parallelism of v. 98 in this instance. A similar judgment call will be made regarding Q 56:35–37 below.
- 29 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā'ir, vol. 1, 256.
- 30 See Stewart, "Saj 'in the Qur 'ān," 109.
- 31 For marfū ah with the sense of "honored" or "of high estimation," see Edward William Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon (London: Willams and Norgate, 1863), 1,124, and also the poetry of al-Nābighah, where a woman is described as dumyatin min marmarin marfū ah. Al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, Dīwān, ed. and annot. Ḥannā Naṣr al-Ḥittī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1991), 71. Al-Ḥittī glosses this section of al-Nābighah's poetic verse as meaning "it was as if she were a marble statue of the utmost perfection and beauty" (ka-annahā timthālin min al-marmari fī ghāyati l-husni wa-l-jamāl). The raised couches (sururun marfū ah) of Q 88:13 would appear to be part of a different eschatological scenery, with carefully positioned goblets (akwābun mawdū ah), cushions placed in rows (namāriqu masfūfah), carpets spread (zarābiyyu mabthūthah), and no idle talk (lā tasma u fīhā lāghiyah). These surur marfū ah could be argued to correspond to the surur mawdūnah of Q 56:15, where goblets are similarly present, rather than to the furush marfū ah that occur later in the same surah, but for this point see the following note.
- 32 Although Abdah b. al-Tayyib describes revellers reclining on al-fursh [see Charles Lyall, ed. and trans., The Mufaddalīyāt: An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), vol. 1, 290 (Arabic); vol. 2, 97 (English translation)], in the absence of any conclusive evidence to the contrary, I am at present inclined to follow the exegetical tradition in rendering the *furush* of Q 56:32 metaphorically, to convey the meaning "women (al-nisā")." This understanding of the term is attested in the early tafsīr works of, for example, al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035), al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), and al-Baydāwī (d. 685/1286), and it is elaborated on in some depth in the *Tafsīr* of al-Ourtubī (d. 671/1273). Lane's Arabic-English lexicon provides backing for a metaphorical reading of the term firāsh as meaning "a man's wife," "a woman's husband," or "a female slave's master or owner." See Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, 2,371. Meanwhile, the concordance of Jāhilī poetry produced by Albert Arazi and Salmān Musālihah includes four verses which contain the word *firāsh*. Of these four, two collocate the term firāsh with dajī uhā ("her bedfellow"). A further verse refers to firāshihā in such a way that the presence of a bed companion silently observing the poetic scene is not out of the question. See the dīwāns of Imru' al-Qays (5: 152 and 6: 148) and al-Nābighah (12: 20) as cited in Albert Arazi and Salmān Muṣāliḥah, al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī dawāwīn al-shu'arā' al-sittah al-jāhiliyyīn (Jerusalem, 1999), 836. For these verses in context see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets Ennābiga, 'Antara, Tharafa, Zuhair, 'Algama and Imruulgais: Chiefly According to the Mss. of Paris, Gotha. and Leyden; and the Collection of Their Fragments with a List of the Various Readings of the Text (London: Trübner & Co., 1870), but also Imru' al-Qays, Dīwān, ed. Mustafā 'Abd al-Shāfī (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2004), 116 and 123, and al-Nabighah al-Dhubyānī, Dīwān, ed. 'Abbās 'Abd al-Sātir (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1996), 57. Note, however, that the copy of al-Nābighah's $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ I initially consulted has al-fatāh ("young woman") where Arazi and Muṣāliḥah have al-firāsh. This variant is reflected in al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, Dīwān, ed. and annot. Hannā

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- Naşr al-Ḥittī, 130, but not in the footnotes to Ahlwardt, *Divans*, 20 [Arabic pagination], nor in his list of corrections (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, 13).
- 33 See the preceding two notes. If the *furush marfū* 'ah are to be understood, in contrast, as elevated carpets or mattresses, this consideration does not arise.
- 34 This structure whereby a tight Qur'anic unit is extended by a further two verses is in no way uncommon. See Marianna Klar, "Lexical Layers vs Structural Paradigms in the Opening of Sūrat al-Baqara: Typically Medinan Structures in Q 2, Q 3, and Some Shorter Medinan Compositions," in *Unlocking the Medinan Qur'an*, ed. Nicolai Sinai (forthcoming).
- 35 The other solution would be to classify this as a complex *saj* 'structure in which the grammatically parallel *saj* 'of vv. 35 and 36 extends seamlessly into the linear *saj* 'of v. 37 before shifting, equally seamlessly, into the stepped *saj* 'of v. 38. I would depict this as AABBC.
- 36 The presence of matched accentual beats throughout Q 56:27–38 is worthy of note.
- 37 See Stewart, "Saj' in the Qur'ān," 121, citing the opinions of Ibn al-Athīr, al-Bāqillānī, and Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī.
- 38 Thus the string of *wa*-s at Q 52:1–6, Q 74:32–34, Q 85:1–3, Q 86:1.11–12, Q 91:1–7, Q 92:1–3, Q 93:1–2, and Q 95:1–3.
- 39 Thus the initial wa- followed by a string of fa-s at Q 37:1–3, Q 51:1–4, and Q 100:1–5.
- 40 Thus Q 79:1–5 displays a series of initial wa-s followed by a string of fa-s.
- 41 The fact that here we have an initial *fa* followed by a *wa* has not escaped my notice. Neither is an oath-marker, however, so the previously argued rule—that *fa* consistently serves to connect one Qur'anic oath to another and is never series-initial—can be considered to still hold. An initial *fa* was similarly followed by a *wa* in Q 93:9–10 above.
- 42 See Angelika Neuwirth, *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren* (2nd edn. Berlin: De Gruyter. 2012 [1981]). 207.
- 43 See al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Subh al-a 'shā*, 270; Stewart, "Saj' in the Qur' ān," 108.
- 44 Indeed, Ibn al-Athīr's cited example of Q 9:128–29 seems difficult to justify as *masjū*. One possibility would be to break these verses up colometrically, such that the rhythmical parallelism between the two verses is increased. This is demonstrated in Table C.

Q 9:128			Q 9:129	
5	laqad jā ʾakum rasūlun min anfusikum	2+3	fa-in tawallaw + fa-qul ḥasbiya llāhu	
4	ʿazīzun ʿalayhi mā ʿanittum	4	lā ilāha illā huwa	
2	ḥarīşun ʿalaykum	2	ʻalayhi tawakkaltu	
3	bi-l-mu'minīna ra'ūfun raḥīm	4	wa-huwa rabbu l-ʿarshi l-ʿazīm	

Such a solution draws attention to the deeper rhythmic parallelism between vv. 128 and 129, which obviously goes beyond its 14–15 near-matched accentual beats. It also highlights, however, the weakness of any grammatical parallelism between these two verses. A reliable methodology for identifying *saj* 'structures in longer Qur'anic verses remains a work in progress, outside the confines of the present essay.

45 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, vol. 1, 210. Prior to providing these individual examples he mentions that Q 54 and Q 55, among other surahs, are composed entirely in *saj'*.

- 46 The Qur'anic *l* and the Qur'anic *r* are of course usually considered to rhyme with one another. See Stewart, "Saj' in the Qur' ān," 109. It should be observed that this state of play is not reflected in the examples of the saj' of the kuhhān provided by Stewart (Chapter 8) and by Nora K. Schmid (Chapter 5), this volume. While penultimate *l* and *r* do occur in close proximity, this is never in rhyme position, and the *l* and *r* are always interspersed with other, presumably non-rhyming, consonants. Thus, for example, Stewart cites a pronouncement in which Musaylimah states: wa-l-layli / l-atham // wa-l-dhi'bi / l-adlam // wa-l-jadha'i / l-azlam // mā / ntahakat / usayyid / min / mahram //. The final three saj'ahs rhyme in Cvlam/Cvram, but there would appear to be no corresponding extended rhyme in the initial saj'ah of the unit, which terminates in the rhyme word al-atham. See Stewart (Chapter 8, this volume, p. 284).
- 47 See also n. 16 above. It is worth noting that the orthographically elongated *fathahs* of Q 33:66 and 67 are not reflected in the Sanaa Palimpsest. See Behnam Sadeghi and Mohsen Goudarzi, "Ṣan'ā' 1 and the Origins of the Qur'ān," *Der Islam* 87 (2012), 80 (displaying folio 9b, lines 16 and 18), although both can be discerned in the much later MS Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Peterman 1 38, folio 97r, accessed via www.corpus coranicum.de/handschriften.
- 48 Compare, for instance, the *inclusio* created by the repetition of *al-qur'ān* in Q 27:1 and Q 27:6. My research into surah introductions also remains a work in progress, but see my forthcoming article in *Unlocking the Medinan Our'an* for further elaboration.
- 49 The two internal occurrences of *wa Td* (at vv. 20 and 28) appear to be of no structural significance. A number of small internal paragraphs within the central section and the tail are, however, closed by verses opening *wa-la-qad* (vv. 16, 22, and 38). The destruction of prior communities is mentioned both in the introduction (at vv. 12–14) and in the tail (at v. 36). The Qur'an arguably reoccurs as the *dhikr* in v. 37, further marking the presence of a tail to the surah from v. 36 onward.
- 50 Angelika Neuwirth breaks the surah into four sections with subdivisions: section I (vv. 1, 2–3, and 4–5), section IIA (vv. 6–8, 9–11, and 12–14), section IIB (vv. 15–16, 17–22, 23–26, 27–30, and 31–35), section III (vv. 36–38, 39–40, 41–44, and 45). See Neuwirth, *Studien*, 285. The divisions proposed by Neuwirth are not in any evident disagreement with my structurally informed scheme, although this may of course be coincidental.
- 51 A counterfoil to this proposition that I have not yet rationalized is Stewart's citation of an example of pseudo-Qur'anic *saj* 'composed by al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965) where non-rhyming elements seem to sit in complete lack of self-consciousness amid rhyming elements. See Stewart (Chapter 8, this volume, p. 287).

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